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Cities, Resources and Religion – Economic Implications of Religion in Graeco-Roman Urban Environments

Panel 7.7

Anna-Katharina Rieger
Johanna Stöger (Eds.)

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Economic Implications of Religion
in Graeco-Roman Urban Environments

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Edited by

Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann

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Anna-Katharina Rieger – Johanna Stöger (†)

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress for Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyze its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural factors. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with the Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1.200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzelmann

Cities, Resources and Religion – Economic Implications of Religion in Graeco-Roman Urban Environments. An Introduction

Anna-Katharina Rieger – Johanna Stöger (†)

In memoriam Johanna Stöger
a grievous loss

The idea to organise a panel on economy and religion in cities of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean at the AIAC 2018 grew from the shared interest of the organisers in Roman Ostia, in Roman religion and lived ancient religion as well as in, more broadly, the interrelations and entanglements of spatial and social organisation in Graeco-Roman cities and landscapes.[1] Against a background of the archaeology and history of the trade-oriented harbour of Rome and our research on resources, resilience and religion, it was an obvious step to inquire into the under-researched interferences of economy, religion and urban spaces and the involved agents, and to ask about how and where religion or religiously driven phenomena permeate economically driven actions and economic processes in cities of the Mediterranean antiquity.

Accordingly, the case studies and analyses collected in this volume aim at exploring on the one hand aspects of sacred spaces, religious architecture and institutions as well as religious references in objects, images and texts that relate to economic interests or entanglements of cities and their inhabitants. This perspective entails exploring material evidence with religious connotations and meaning, mainly in cities of Asia Minor and Italy, through the lens of the economic dynamics. On the other hand, the contributors attempt to explore the religious dimensions of socio-economic activities and their agents, such as the organisation of resource availability, investments and re-distribution. These issues are reflected in households and their material environment, in temple buildings, *macella* and *horrea* in Graeco-Roman cities; they become manifest in objects and epigraphy; they include *collegia,* religious experts, villa owners as well as public officials and embrace the well-known variety of divine agents of the Graeco-Roman world, representing the regional differences of the Mediterranean regions and societies.[2] Hence, approached and analysed under the perspective of religion and economy, the material evidence provides insights into strategies of coping with varying resource availability, of controlling financial means or land property, of gaining social capital, i.e. prestige, that is often intrinsically tied to religious actions, most efficiently to religious offices and power.

Cities, especially in Roman imperial times, were densely inhabited places characterised by the plurality of religious groups and practices, all negotiating, squatting, appropriating and re-purposing urban space.[3] Cities as descriptive term for such places with specific but varying socio-spatial and socio-economic parameters, can be understood

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as a heterogenous and highly dynamic constellation of people including their interrelations to the inner and outer environment: a city is a network in itself as well as a part of networks. Urban communities are related to other communities or groups; they have connections to various areas of cultural production, or to virtually and materially circulating objects and ideas; in their inner organisation the different social, political or religious groups are interrelated on various levels, such as personal relations, administrative contacts or (temporarily) shared activities or spaces as for examples streets.

When asking about the interrelations of religion and urbanity,[4] one could even claim that many processes of diversification of religion took place especially in cities from classical times to late antiquity as for example the creation of new gods in the 4th century BC and the 2nd century AD, small group religions such as Orphism or Mithraism, adaptations of Roman deities to indigenous ones, deified emperors and Messianic religions. These changes entailed the entire spectrum of practitioners of religion (the *poleis* or *civitates,* the elites, small groups, households, individuals) and institutions. But even more – the diversification and changes (trans-)formed cities to various extents and made them microcosms of local socio-economic and socio-religious interactions with links to wider or even global developments. These transformations influenced existing bonds of solidarity or reinforced social and economic differences within a city, led to new connections or broke up others. Whatever happened in the religious field, it also modified the socio-economic organisation and vice-versa.

In both, archaeological research and religious studies, cities were and are "en vogue", since they not only materially but also socially represent points of highest concentration of human expressions – from symbiosis to conflicts, from slow changes to revolutions, from administrative acts to cultural processes.[5] A focus on cities in Roman times through the lens of economy and religion allows for inquiring into claims on spaces and resources for religious activities, either financial or natural, or workload for religious affairs as well as organisation of religious institutions. They offer evidence of the symbolic aspirations that buildings, (elite) families or memorial places gain, but also provide a diachronic view on religious institutions, groups, and experts who were matter of diversifying or even conflicting strands.

The religious infrastructure of a city was constantly in dialogue with the built urban infrastructure. The plurality of religious voices, spaces and events was influenced above all by economic forces, developments, and necessities. Archaeological research can set in at points of intersection between the urban infrastructure, the city's economic life, and religious agents and establishments (e.g. small groups/*collegia,* individual dedicators, temples or sacred areas, and temporarily dedicated spaces): Architecture that structures space and vision as well as temporal practices appropriate public or private spaces in the cities as for example the temple of Fortuna Augusta in Pompeii or the procession to the *lavatio* of Magna Mater in the Almo outside of Rome, whereas burial places that are located in the *suburbium* integrate the economic functions of suburban rural villas and religious retreats.[6]

The dynamics of a city influence how religious activities can be spelled and lived out, whereas economic potentials or limitations in the densely inhabited space of a city also have an impact on spatial, social or economic capacities used for religious investments. Additionally, a city's space regulates the interactions between residents, religious bodies and civic governance, either conflicting or reconciling in their negotiations, and had an impact on what religious activity could take place in what manner.[7]

Economic considerations ranging from resource availability to property rights and financial support come into play, when for example people or the council of a city establish a cult, when they build or re-build a temple, when a *collegium* acts in a religious festival, or sacrificial meat is sold in the *macella.* They continue, when communities or individuals are entrusted with the maintenance and the financing of cultic activities or spatial requirements, in the dynamics of and environment with ever changing conditions. Complexity of social relations and necessities of sustainable redistribution of resources that must be or often are framed by religious practices are the other side of the coin.[8]

The theoretical basis of this approach to the city, economy and religion draws on the "social production of space" (Lefebvre 1974), developed from a Marxist viewpoint against the backdrop of cities of the first half of the 20th century, and broadened to a sociology of urban spaces that are also applied in studies of ancient cities;[9] however, a deeper interest in religion is missing. In turn, studies of religion for ancient societies focus on the significance of spatial and material practices when "doing religion" in Graeco-Roman antiquity.[10] Yet, the economic aspects of religion are with some exceptions underrated.[11] They can only be studied on the basis of individual cases, whereas a macro-economic level is far from easy to be reached,[12] since the Mediterranean world in its complexity and diversity in regards of religion and societies did not function along modern (socio-) economic criteria such as rational choice or new institutional economics as well as approaches of political economy.[13] Moreover, the perspective on economic conditions of religion does not stop at the question of financing religious infrastructure or claiming urban spaces for a temple building or a ceremony, but concerns the conceptualisation of resources as part of a human-divine interaction and identificatory power as is it is investigated in the following contributions.

Under these presuppositions, the contributors to this panel focused on i) the pluralities of spaces, societal groups as well as ideas and concepts of the divine and pertaining religious practices; ii) the material presence of religion and the production of religious spaces in the city, and how this presence was negotiated, contested, or lead to changes in use, character, availability or accessibility of urban spaces; iii) the role of cities as dense, multifunctional, materially and socially heterogenous, economically central places of concentrated political and economic power fostering dynamic religious changes. To bring this down to the archaeological material the set of some more general and some detailed questions about the city, economy and religion entail in a broader and a more concrete sense:

- What are the resources – in a material and social sense – of a city?
- What role does religion play in providing, shaping and using such resources?
- How does religion impact the (economically) competitive environment of a city?
- In what way became economic and religious institutions and infrastructures manifest in urban spaces?
- Were spaces and their utilisation contested?
- In how far did paritcular urban conditions affect religious change and how were economic developments involved?

Even though the topic of economy, religion and cities is complex and diverse, the contributions to this panel were an attempt of opening up different approaches by classical archaeology.

In her paper on "Appropriating Space in Urbs and Suburbium" (extended abstract), Kristine Iara examines the various spatial ranges of deities and their cults in late antique Rome. Processions between the centre and the *suburbium* f.e. of Magna Mater or Dea Dia, the variable route of the Salii at the Lupercalia through the city or the appropriation of the *suburbium* by Christian (Constantinian) church buildings demonstrate the different strategies of marking spaces, either temporarily or permanently, by the different agents and officials of the cults.

Charlotte Potts deciphers "Urban Sanctuaries: Continuities in Form and Function" (extended abstract) and the longevity of the combination of open spaces for assemblies and gatherings and religious buildings in Italy and Rome. Her point of departure is an understanding of *fora* and *templa* rather as social institutions than architectural forms, thus pushing the idea of the social production of space even further. Fora were the first places of economic and cultic activities in the cities (e.g. Satricum) where human and divine agents interacted. Temples are rather a means of displaying the wealth (of families or the community). Fora and temples as cultic and socio-political spaces are the "physical expression of a conceptual connection" (p. 22).

Anne Kleineberg draws in her paper on "The Forum Boarium and Holitorium in Rome – their Religious, Social and Economic Significance Until the Early Imperial Time" (extended abstract) on the complicated evidence of the fora close to the Tiber in Rome. She re-reads the history of the sacred places for Hercules from Republican to early Imperial times and the close interrelation of religion and economy at this market and harbour place. Merchants and the military personnel made offerings in a range of financial investments (*decuma* to the dedication of buildings), while later the for a were changed to a façade and stage for the *triumphatores* on their route to the Capitolium. Thus, they lost their economic importance, visible also in architectural changes.

In the second set of papers moves away from Rome and shifts the focus to cities in Italy and Asia Minor, where the contributions inquiry into the strategies of constructing and maintaining religious spaces as well as narrating about offices and duties. Ostia in the long durée is looked at by Maura Medri in her contribution on "The Long Life of an Extra-Urban Sanctuary: the Bona Dea Sanctuary in Ostia (Regio V, X, 2)". The sanctu-

ary's history can now be traced over nine phases from Republican to late antique times. Women of Ostia's elite took over the responsibility of financing the renovations, even though it became spatially restricted in a city of decreasing availability of space and increasing prices in the 2nd century AD. However, the sanctuary did not lose its religious attractiveness, since investments continued and the social capital the dedicators could gain was still paid off the financial investment.

By presenting another case from Ostia, Iskander Sonnemans asks about the strategies, how Mithraic associations occupied spaces for worshipping and feasting in Roman Ostia. In his paper on "The Mithras-Scape: a Case-Study from Ostia Antica" he studies how Mithraea were inserted in the urban space of Ostia. A high degree of privacy is always characteristic. Since the individual groups of adherents were small and their locales inwardly oriented, tight-knit social ties could be established. Considering the concurrence of social, economic and religious demands in a city like Ostia in the 2nd century AD, they represent socio-religious phenomena as well as private enterprises comparable to *collegia.*[14]

With his contribution "Zur Deutung und Finanzierung der 'Roten Halle' in Pergamon", Winfried Held offers an analysis of the Red Hall at Pergamon, considering the relation of its religious intention and the construction work. The brick building in the lower city of Pergamon is too big and luxurious to have been paid for by the citizens of Pergamon alone. The city alone could not afford the deities that should be venerated here – no less than the emperor as divinised human being. Nevertheless, the interaction of urban elites and the (*officiae* of the) emperor Hadrian resulted in the realisation of this enormous religious building full of allusions to the empire and its power. The comparisons with the monumental temple for the emperor's cult at Tarsus as well as with the layout of the temple of Zeus at Olympia show it was intended to represent – again – nothing less than the *kosmos.* Meaning and intention are here closely related to an extreme effort of costs, logistics and manpower.

Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karatas uses epigraphical evidence from cities of Asia Minor in archaic and classical times to examine the engagement of local families in the financing of cultic activities. With her paper "Cults, Money, and Prestige: Cultic Offices as Means of Prestige for Leading Families in Asia Minor", she demonstrates the strong interest of cult officials in displaying their offices, the ones of family members and their financial input to festivals, buildings and cultic activities in inscriptions of honorific statues from the 3rd and 2nd century BC. Wealth, financial power, and their socio-political influence in a changed political setting in Asia Minor were the main motivations of the families and donators of the statues, on which they eloquently told their co-citizens about their investments.

Two more contributions, by Marlis Arnhold and Asuman Lätzer-Lasar are not published in this volume. However, they added to a core area of city, religion and economy with cases from the city of Rome. Marlis Arnhold reflected on the "Religion in the Urbs: Defining the Special Case of Imperial Rome beyond the Political Centre" with a

focus on the complexity of the social and religious web of the urbs.[15] She analysed how the double temple of San Omobono was inserted into the urban network in reference to the changing functions of the Forum Boarium, the Capitolium and the connecting routes. With this analysis she showed the diminishing significance of the sacred area and the agents that were active with dedications or building measures. Compared to the later cults of Dolichenus or Mithras, which appropriated urban spaces in a limited extent and had smaller groups of worshippers, she concluded that not economic reasons but the changed socio-political organisation in the city are the reason for the changed appearance of the area sacra.

In her paper "Your City – Your Arena. Religious Practices as Marketing Strategies for Claiming Urban Space", Asuman Lätzer-Lasar compared the claims of urban spaces by the cults of Isis and Magna Mater. While Magna Mater marks larger areas and has more religious buildings, Isis is detectable rather punctually in the city of Rome in Imperial times. Both contributions considered aspects of visibility, of the marking or claiming of spaces in practicing religion in the city of Rome.

Three areas of research in ancient studies were combined in this panel and represented by the contributions – economy, city and religion. Each of them is as complex and debated as it is fundamental for the functioning of the entire (not only urban) societies. For today's globalised and urbanised world which is economically highly entangled and where religion is often instrumentalised for reasons of power a view back into cities of the Mediterranean history allows for a better understanding of the dynamics urban centres were able to provide, channel or govern. However, it has only started to be tapped analytically, how religion is impacted by such urban dynamics and how it is, at the same time, a social, spatial and economic factor and resource in itself.[16] To account for the complex phenomena of religion, economy and urbanity in our research questions and designs we have to be as creative as cities and their economic behaviour, the inventions to enhance in resource availability or the religious strategies to cope with stress amd uncertainties appear to have been in antiquity.

Notes

[1] See representatively Albrecht et al. 2018; Rieger 2004; Rieger 2011; Rieger 2017; Rieger 2020; Stöger 2010; Stöger 2011a and b; Stöger – Bintliff 2009.

[2] Exemplary studies asking about interrelations of religious practices and economic interest in urban spaces are for example De Ruyt 2008 and Van Andringa 2008 on *macella;* Van Oyen 2020 on storage; Laforge 2009 on household religion; on *collegia* and their economic and religious purposes see Liu 2008; Terpstra 2013 and Stöger 2009 a and b; on religious experts see the contributions in Gordon et al. 2018; on economy and the city see representatively Flohr – Wilson 2016; for religious meanings of objects see Raja – Weiss 2015, esp. 137–141.

[3] On recent conceptualisation of the interdependencies of urban environment and religion see Urciuoli – Rüpke 2018; Rüpke 2020; for an archaeological view on urban history see Flohr 2021; on the approach of lived ancient religion see Rüpke 2011; Raja – Rüpke 2015; Albrecht et al. 2018.

[4] These relations are at the core of a Kollegforschergruppe "Religion and Urbanity" at Max Weber Centre of the University of Erfurt, lead by J. Rüpke and S. Rau; see Rüpke 2020, esp. 48–61; Rüpke – Rau 2020.

[5] Cf. research conducted in the Center of Excellence "Urban Network Evolutions" at the University of Aarhus or the Graduate School "Metropolität in der Vormoderne" at the University of Regensburg.

[6] As references to the examples see Borg 2019; Iara 2015 and this volume; van Andringa 2015.

[7] As a recent example for an archaeologically researched city Ephesos see Schowalter et al.

[8] Even though cities are not at the heart of this study Rieger 2018 is an example for the religiously framed redistribution of the resource water. See also the redistribution of the *stipes* collected from the citizens in Augustan Rome with statue donations by the emperor at the compital shrines see Suet., Aug. 57.1.

[9] For (German) apporaches to a sociology of space and urban spaces in particular see Löw 2008 and Ößbrügge – Verpohl 2014. For ancient cities see Stöger 2009 and 2011a; Flohr 2020, esp. 5–7.

[10] e.g. Rieger 2020; Moser – Knust 2017.

[11] An exception is Collar – Kristensen 2020. Relevant for sanctuaries as economic centres in the Greek world are Dignas 2002, Sassu 2014 and the volume of Topoi. Orient – Occident 12–13, 2005 with contributions by V. Chankowski-Sablé, A. Malrieu and J. Maucourant. The introduction to the recent issue of the journal Religion in the Roman Empire on "Transformations of Values: Lived Religion and the Economy" by C. Moser and Ch. Smith with the same title (3–22) argues against the accounts of "marketplace of religion" and rational choice (6–7). However, the author are not clear about what values they speak of. Also, the central notion of "transformations" seems to focus rather on transformative agency of ritual able to ascribe (symbolic) value to objects. Earlier attempts for Greek cults resp. Rome see Linders – Alroth 1992; Rüpke 1995.

[12] For recent approches to economy and religion see Gordon et al. forthcoming; Spickermann forthcoming and Jongmann 2014; for individual cases studies see e.g. DeLaine 2002; Granino Cecere 2009; Stöger 2011b; Rieger – Möller 2020.

[13] See for studies discussing (modern) economic theories Maucourant 2004; Verboeven 2015; Ruffing 2016; Marzano 2017; Davies 2018.

[14] Rieger 2004, 252–257.

[15] see Arnhold 2020.

[16] Albrecht et al. 2018.

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Appropriating Space in Rome

Kristine Iara

This contribution is part of my larger research project on the sacral topography of the city of Rome in Late Antiquity.[1] The focus of the contribution is on the question of how sacred space was constituted within Rome's urban space, or rather, how, within urban space, sacredness was generated to various degrees or was activated as needed. In the following, the term 'sacredness' is used in the broadest range of meanings and in full consciousness of its vagueness, and the term 'Roman religion' refers to the 'pagans' as opposed to the Christians.

The following mechanisms to generate and to increase sacredness of a space are examined.

1. Permanent elements and accumulative mechanisms to generate and increase sacredness of a space (permanent elements such as monumental temples, cultic spots, altars; the density of these elements, adding to an intense aura of sacredness; architectural conglomerations; visual axes; innumerous statues, reliefs and other pictorial elements).
2. The appropriation of space for religious purpose by means of ephemeral elements (dynamic features such as festivals, processions; in particular, the festivals of Dea Dia, the Lupercalia, the festival of Mars in March and the festival of Mater Magna in March have been examined).
3. Mechanisms of appropriation of city space used by the Christian religion by material and immaterial means (appropriating sacred space; appropriating sacred time).

The conclusions resulting from the discussion of the available material (archaeological, epigraphical, literary evidence from the city of Rome) are the following: The two most important notions that emerge from the distinct pieces of evidence are (a) the fluctuant character of Rome's sacral topography and its pliability in many aspects, and (b) mechanisms of appropriation by immaterial means.

Although material and permanent elements, such as buildings, shrines, altars, and sanctuaries were fixed in space and the Roman gods usually had their topographically fixed cultic spots, the sacral topography of the city was as much constituted by ephemeral, dynamic and temporary elements as by the permanent ones. When a festival featuring processions took place, more urban space was involved than the fixed spots of a cult, and this space became thus an essential part of the micro-topography of that particular cult, appropriated for a specific time span by the practitioners of that cult. Thus, sacral topography, mapped each time anew, never looked exactly the same. Specific areas could be activated as sacred on occasion and as, when and by whom required. In the case of the Saturnalia, the area of religious activity enlarged considerably and was flooded with sacredness and participants, paralyzing the everyday business on the Forum Romanum for a specific time span. In the case of Dea Dia's festival, there is the juxtaposition of the narrow limitation of the action itself both in spatial terms (the

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sanctuary in the *suburbium*) and in terms of the agents (the activities took place without the participation of the people) on the one hand, the extensiveness of the agency of the activity and its impact on the other, again both in spatial terms (the whole *urbs*) and regarding the beneficiaries (its entire populace). And here again, we see 'sacred space on demand': the *domus* of the *magister* became temporarily sacred space when needed for the rituals. The Lupercalia provide a good example for the fluctuating character of sacral topography. The actual mapping of this part of Rome's sacral topography not only was made up in the very moment, but it was different each year. More than by fixed elements, its micro-topography was determined by the people, the audience's gathering. Further, this festival showed to a particular extent the combination of stable ritual elements and pliability of interpretation, which allowed adopting different meanings over time.

The two mechanisms of appropriation by the Christian religion that have been examined brought the following results. In the very center of Rome, Christianization of urban space in a material sense advanced slowly and relatively late. The Church, at this rather early point in Late Antiquity, did not occupy systematically the center. In fact, it was in the outskirts where the first monumental buildings of the church were erected: the giant Constantinian basilicas, attracted by the martyrs' tombs in the *suburbium.* The religious focus moved outside, the city's geographical periphery became the new religious center. Thus, in the mid-term, the cultic-ritual center was relocated from the city center to the outskirts, dissociating the one from the other. This appropriation of space went hand in hand with another mechanism of appropriation by immaterial and ephemeral means: Not the appropriation of space, though: at this point there was, between the Christian and the Roman religion, no actual competition for space by means of temporal events such as processions. This other mechanism of appropriation was rather one of time. The systematically furthered appropriation of sacred time in Rome by the Christian religion not only progressed much faster than the appropriation of urban space, but proved itself also as highly effective: the flooding of Rome's civic calendar by Christian festivals, celebrations and holidays, purposely disembarking, progressively, the festivals of the Roman religion.

The seamless and relatively quick progress of the transformation of the sacral topography with advancing Christianization is partly due to the topography's fluctuant character and its pliability (even though the effects of greater changes and mechanisms in the background must be acknowledged). Here, we also see the subjectiveness of the perception of centrality and periphery on the one hand and their slideability, and, on the other hand, how, by this, the geographical center vs. periphery and the cultic center vs. periphery drifted into incongruity.

Thus, as important as the mentioned fixed structures are the ephemeral connections between these, constituted by the processions: they are indispensable for the generation, the development and the continuous mutation of the sacral topography and then, for its reconstruction. These connections gain even more significance in Late Antiquity, with the prohibition of other important elements of cult, first and foremost the sacrifice;

the permanent and ephemeral generators of sacredness helped preserve religious memory in times where religious activity could not take place.

The well-known statement of Livy can neatly serve as a summary of these findings, and it does so in two distinct regards: Livy says: 'No corner of it [meaning the city of Rome] is not permeated by ideas of religion and the gods; for our annual sacrifices, the days are no more fixed than are the places where they may be performed'.[2] This not only highlights the importance of the immaterial elements, alongside the fixed structures, for the sacral topography. It also highlights the importance of sacred time, both for the Roman religion (which Livy had in mind), and for the successful Christianization (of which Livy did not think): using the appropriation of sacred time for the own religious purposes, for promoting Christianization, was a full success. As a result, the sacral topography was transformed. The ways and means of appropriation were the same: the combination of fixed points, ephemeral connections, buildings and people, in the dimension of time and space.

Notes

[1] Post-doctoral research project affiliated at LMU München; funded by a triennial post-doctoral fellowship of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (2009–2012).

[2] Livy 5.52.2: nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis stati quam loca sunt, in quibus fiant. Translation from B. O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge MA 1940.

The Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorium in Rome. Their Religious and Economic Significance until the Early Imperial Time*

Anne Kleineberg

Since early times the Forum Holitorium and the Forum Boarium had been important market places and economic transfer points near the Tiber port and were connected to the local and regional road system. Focussing on the Republican and early Imperial era, the case study analysed how religious and economic practices interacted on various levels. Both Fora are appropriate examples illuminating the complex interplay between city and religion, as the investment in new religious buildings and all activities connected to them transformed urban economic spaces in different ways.

An excellent example illustrating these complex processes is the Forum Holitorium, the so called vegetable market, located between the Tiber and the Palatine Hill.[2] As S. Schipporeit has shown, starting the middle of the 3rd century BC the intensification of building activities since led to a new definition of the area. Especially the four Republican temples of Ianus, Spes, Iuno Sospita and Pietas, which were built by victorious generals, and at least in the late first century BC the erection of a porticus on the eastern side of the area shows impressively how the actual market space of the Forum Holitorium was restricted. In this way, a huge part of the Forum had been transformed into a magnificent road 10–12 meters wide, framed by temples and a porticus and being a part of the triumphal route.[3]

Concerning the Forum Boarium,[4] located on the intersection of the Tiber, the Tiber port and the Via Salaria, the situation is quite different. Besides the area's commercial functions, especially as a cattle market, which was relevant until the Imperial period, the different cult places for Hercules are of particular interest. The most prominent one is certainly the Ara Maxima Herculis, although the location and architectural layout and design are debated.[5] However, the annual sacrifice on the 12th of August was followed by a common sacrificial banquet consuming the meat (reserved for male citizens) on the spot. In addition, the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima is linked to the triumph and private sacrifices. Mainly during the last three centuries BC triumphal processions crossed the zone, followed by huge banquets celebrated around the great altar.[6] Private sacrifices are related to persons who had accomplished commercial or other enterprises successfully and offered the *decuma,* the tenth of their profit to the god. However, Hercules was not just a god of trade, but also protected commercial enterprises and travelling in general, especially risky voyages. Furthermore, in this context Hercules was finally linked to the successful or victorious return.[7]

In this context the emergence of new cult places for Hercules established by victorious generals as well as rich merchants or traders is not surprising. Some of these new cult places as the first round temple at the Forum Boarium were not only located in

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close proximity to the Ara Maxima.[8] Moreover, as in the case of the temple of Hercules Invictus near the Circus Maximus, which F. Coarelli has positioned between the Circus Maximus and the Ara Maxima, the annual festival was performed at the same day as those connected to the Ara Maxima.[9]

The long term changings concerning the Forum Holitorium and the Forum Boarium can therefore demonstrate how economic spaces are transformed by different forms of religious investment and how new performances interlinked to them have been established.

Notes

* A long version will be published separately.

[2] LTUR II (1995) 299 s. v. Forum Holitorium (F. Coarelli); Schipporeit 2014; Amaducci et al. 2015, d'Alessio 2017, 493–495. 499–512 tab. 208. 218. 222.

[3] Schipporeit 2014, 211–223. 213 fig. 3; 215 fig. 5; 218 fig. 8.

[4] Coarelli 1988; LTUR II (1995) 295–297 s. v. Forum Boarium (F. Coarelli); Scheid 2012; Amaducci et al. 2015; Bariviera 2017, 421–423. 426–434 tab. 171.

[5] Coarelli 1988, 61–77; LTUR III (1996) 17–19 s. v. Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima (A. Viscogliosi); Torelli 2006 and Bariviera 2017, 430 f. tab. 173.

[6] Scheid 2012, 293. 296–298; Bariviera 2017, 426.

[7] Scheid 2012, 297.

[8] Considered to be identified with the Aedes Aemiliana Herculis (erected shortly after the middle of the second century BC). LTUR III (1996) 11–12 s. v. Hercules, Aedes Aemiliana (F. Coarelli) and Bariviera 2017, 430.

[9] Considered to be identified with the Aedes Pompeiana Herculis (later restoration of an older temple?). LTUR III (1996) 20–21 s. v. Hercules Pompeianus, Aedes (F. Coarelli) and Bariviera 2017, 428.

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Fora as Urban Sanctuaries: Continuities in Form and Function

Charlotte R. Potts

The placement of temples in communal spaces was a long-lasting tenet of Roman urbanism. From the riverside Temple of Mater Matuta in the archaic Forum Boarium at Rome, to the republican Temple of Jupiter in the central Forum at Pompeii, and the temple for imperial cult in the new Forum at Lepcis Magna, religious buildings were a part of open public spaces in a variety of different periods, settings, and political systems. This is usually attributed to two things: firstly, the character of the Forum Romanum in Rome, which has been seen as a template for the form and functions of fora more generally; and secondly, the role of temples in civic life, which saw them serve as custodians, hosts, performance spaces, and repositories of collective memory, and thus suitable ornaments for public areas. This paper suggests a third possibility, namely that the phenomenon stems from a wider crossover between sanctuaries and assembly spaces in central Italy, a crossover that goes back as far as the Iron Age and is by no means restricted to the city of Rome.

Two Iron Age sites, Satricum in Latium and Tarquinia in Etruria, illustrate part of a proto-urbanising process in which people came together to worship a natural phenomenon or deity from a very early date, in places that were simultaneously growing as population centres: a convergence of people and cult.[1] The result might be a meaningful relationship between worship and assembly, between rituals and habitation, in certain places.

In the Archaic Period, a greater range of assembly spaces with temples appear in the archaeological record. The construction of the Temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium at Rome gave the area (which was possibly Rome's original forum) the architectural character of a sanctuary. The construction of monumental cult buildings in the Forum Romanum some eight decades later conferred a 'ritual halo' on this open space, with the gods residing in temples as the elites did in multi-functional houses further along the Via Sacra.[2] In effect the Forum valley became a space where people could assemble and interact under the eyes of powerful members of the community, both mortal and divine. Other spaces in central Italy had comparable features and functions but are usually termed sanctuaries. Sites including Pyrgi and the Fanum Voltumnae, among others, hosted conspicuous displays of wealth and privilege, were venues for communal and civic events, and had roles in local, regional, and even international trade.[3] It is usually claimed that Etruscan cities lacked fora. Is that because they had sanctuaries instead?

During the Republican period the architectural components of fora and sanctuaries became increasingly shared, with the growing use of porticoes and colonnades; stepped, semi-circular structures; and a tendency to design an open space and its surroundings

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as a coherent, self-contained whole. Studies of the fora at Pompeii and Paestum suggest that their topography grew out of pre-existing, religious patterns of land use.[4] At Cosa, where the forum only gained a temple at a later stage, the layout of the central space displays a preoccupation with ordered and supervised communal activity, first by elites and later by the gods, and again is far from a copy of the Forum Romanum at Rome.[5]

Conflation between sanctuaries and fora reached new heights in the Augustan period with the construction of the Forum of Caesar and the Forum of Augustus in Rome. In architectural terms these fora were religious precincts (sanctuaries of Venus and Mars), and functionally they were civic spaces. They ambiguously straddled the line between god-given authority and being subject to the will of the divine, and thus in some ways come full circle in a pattern in settlement architecture that began in the chiefly, 'big man' society of Iron Age Italy and found its fullest expression with the introduction of its later equivalent, an emperor.

The close relationship between fora and sanctuaries in the 1st millennium BC can be read as the physical expression of a conceptual connection: the gods were powerful members of the community, and as such were present and consulted in spaces where activities central to communal life occurred. Such spaces were not restricted to the middle of settlements just as temples were not confined to extra-urban sites. The presence of temples in fora can thus be seen as an architectural representation of the connections between religious and political activities so well-known in other areas of ancient Italic life.

Notes

[1] Maaskant-Kleibrink 1992, 108; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995, 127–131; Bonghi Jovino 2010.

[2] Riva – Stoddart 1996, 95; Hopkins 2016, 39–52 with references.

[3] Potts forthcoming.

[4] Pedley 1990, 114–120; Ball – Dobbins 2013, 467–469. 78–80.

[5] Fentress 2003, 24 f.; Laurence et. al. 2011, 44.

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La lunga vita di un santuario extra-urbano: il santuario di Bona Dea in Ostia (*Regio* V, X, 2)

Maura Medri

Il culto di Bona Dea in Ostia Antica

Il culto di Bona Dea, dea madre della fertilità e della salute, ben radicato nel Lazio e a Roma, ha origini assai antiche ed era praticato solo dalle donne: la partecipazione ai riti era, infatti, vietata agli uomini, come riportano numerosi autori antichi.[1] In Roma il culto ebbe particolare fortuna in epoca tardo repubblicana e augustea. In Ostia vi sono due santuari dedicati a Bona Dea e in entrambi i casi l'identificazione del culto è certa per il ritrovamento di epigrafi dedicatorie che, come sarà spiegato poco oltre, sono databili proprio nelle epoche di maggiore fortuna del culto, cioè tra la tarda repubblica e l'inizio del I secolo d. C.

Uno dei due santuari è presso Porta Marina e venne scoperto da Guido Calza negli anni 1939–1940.[2] La datazione alla metà circa del I secolo d. C. di questo santuario si basa esclusivamente sui dati ricavabili dall'epigrafe dedicatoria, rinvenuta in quattro copie molto frammentarie.[3] In mancanza di scavi stratigrafici, non possiamo sapere però se questo fosse effettivamente il primo edificio sacro dedicato alla dea in questo punto della città o se l'area fosse già riservata al culto da epoche precedenti.

L'altro santuario di Bona Dea si trova nella Regio V non lontano dal teatro ed è quello di cui ci occupiamo in questo articolo.[4] In questo caso, i dati sono molto più ricchi e hanno consentito una dettagliata ricostruzione delle fasi costruttive del santuario che vanno dal II secolo a. C. fino al IV secolo d. C.

Gli edifici attualmente visibili dei due santuari risalgono comunque alla stessa epoca e probabilmente ebbero anche vicende simili al momento dell'abbandono. Ugualmente simile è la tipologia architettonica: un recinto con ingresso che immette in un cortile interno non molto ampio, all'interno del quale è un piccolo tempio prostilo tetrastilo. Entrambi erano extraurbani: quello di Porta Marina si trova al di fuori della cinta di epoca tardo repubblicana, mentre quello della Regio V era al di fuori delle mura del Castrum, ma è incluso nel perimetro della cinta tardo repubblicana.[5]

Il santuario di Bona Dea (*Regio* V, X, 2): relazioni con la città

Il Santuario di Bona Dea in Regio V è costruito in un lotto di terreno la cui forma trapezoidale molto irregolare è caratteristica dell'urbanistica ostiense che si sviluppa secondo due diversi schemi: quello ortogonale che si realizzò dopo l'inserimento del Castrum di IV secolo a. C. e quelli completamente irregolari che, invece, seguono gli allineamenti del reticolo di strade preesistenti alla costruzione del Castrum. L'area su cui sorge il

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Santuario segue questo secondo schema ed è infatti condizionata su tutti i lati: a nord segue l'andamento di una strada, oggi non più visibile, che doveva essere parallela alla via Laurentina; a sud, invece, si allinea alle strade parallele al lato del *castrum,* quali via del Felicissimo e via delle Ermette; a est segue un confine di proprietà, marcato da un muro con paramento in *opus incertum* con andamento perpendicolare a quello del lato nord; mentre il lato occidentale rimane piuttosto irregolare, con vari spazi di risulta che compensano il disallineamento rispetto alla rete viaria ortogonale che segue l'andamento dei lati del Castrum.

Il Santuario, quindi, sorge su di un terreno, la cui suddivisione è antecedente alla costruzione del Castrum o quanto meno antecedente alla viabilità da questo condizionata e si trovava in una zona extra-urbana, prossima al Decumano Massimo, dal lato di Porta Romana. La situazione è del tutto analoga a quella di un altro tra i santuari più antichi di Ostia, quello di Ercole,[6] che si trova sul lato opposto della città.

La conservazione delle fasi più antiche di questo santuario, dall'età tardo repubblicana e poi attraverso le radicali modifiche subite dalla città nel corso della media età imperiale ne denota e conferma l'importanza come luogo di culto strettamente legato alla municipalità.

Convergenza di dati per la definizione delle fasi: nove momenti di una lunga vita

Il Santuario di Bona Dea in Regio V è particolarmente rappresentativo di due situazioni che si verificano spesso in Ostia: in primo luogo la costruzione di muri pertinenti a fasi diverse, edificati gli uni sugli altri, soprattutto per quando riguarda i muri perimetrali che è anche uno dei motivi per cui si è conservata la forma originaria del lotto di terreno usato per la costruzione; in secondo luogo, il costante e progressivo rialzamento dei livelli pavimentali interni, anche questi disposti gli uni sugli altri, spesso con strati interposti, contenenti materiali utilissimi ai fini della determinazione di cronologia.[7] Entrambe queste modalità costruttive generano delle sequenze stratigrafiche molto chiare che consentono di leggere in modo abbastanza certo il succedersi delle fasi e di collocarle nel tempo. Altri dati fondamentali per la ricostruzione della sequenza provengono dall'analisi dei rivestimenti parietali che si sono conservati in più punti dell'edificio, in connessione con murature delle diverse fasi oppure anch'essi sovrapposti tra loro.

Infine, in questo Santuario di Bona Dea si è avuta anche la possibilità di porre in relazione ai diversi momenti di vita dell'edificio tre epigrafi, tutte rinvenute all'interno del Santuario stesso, che documentano tre diversi atti di evergesia da parte di tre donne: *Octavia,* vissuta nella seconda metà del I secolo a. C., *Valeria Hetaera* e *Terentia* vissute in epoca augustea.

In tutto sono state identificate nove fasi costruttive. Le datazioni assolute, che con-

sentono di precisare la sequenza relativa dei rapporti stratigrafici tra le murature e tra queste e i depositi, si basano sui dati di contesto, sulle cronologie delle tecniche edilizie e delle decorazioni pittoriche parietali. A due di queste fasi sono stati attribuiti gli atti di evergesia ricordati nei testi epigrafici.

Fase 1. Datata in base alle tecniche edilizie al II secolo a. C.

Gli scarsi resti dei muri in *opus incertum,* uno dei quali già descritto da Russel Meiggs,[8] consentono di ricostruire ipoteticamente il recinto sacro di un primo, più antico santuario extra-muraneo, che sorgeva a nord est della Laurentina, lungo una via a essa parallela.[9] Questi muri dei lati est e sud sono esattamente sotto il muro più recente che forma il recinto del Santuario nelle epoche successive.

Ugualmente pertinente è un pozzo, già identificato tra le costruzioni più antiche.[10] Il piano di calpestio associato non è noto, ma la sua quota deve essere stata più bassa o uguale a quella coincidente con il piano di posa degli altari più antichi che è a 0,82–0,88 m s. l. m., altari che però sono probabilmente pertinenti alla successiva fase 3.

Fase 2. Datata in base ai rapporti stratigrafici

A questa fase è attribuito un solo intervento edilizio, eseguito dopo la fase 1 e prima della 3, quindi prima dell'inizio I a. C. Si tratta di un restauro in opera laterizia del muro perimetrale sud del recinto. Si è voluto dare dignità di fase a questo evento costruttivo per rimarcare la presenza dell'opera laterizia in frammenti di tegola, il cui uso è abbastanza raro a Ostia in epoca repubblicana.[11]

Fase 3. Datata entro il I secolo a. C.

In questa fase il Santuario è completamente ricostruito usando l'*opus reticulatum.* Come nella prima fase, i muri non sono ben conservati, ma sono sufficienti per ricostruire la forma del recinto e di alcune suddivisioni interne. Il livello pavimentale è lo stesso ipotizzato per le fasi 1 e 2. Questo edificio potrebbe essere il santuario tardorepubblicano oggetto della munificenza di *Octavia,* identificata da Fausto Zevi come moglie di *P. Lucilius Gamala senior.*[12] Mireille Cébeillac Gervasoni propone la datazione dell'epigrafe «con un'oscillazione ampia tra gli anni 80 e 50 [a. C.], con una preferenza per il decennio 70–60».[13] Non vi sono tracce del tempio, poiché venne completamente riedificato nella successiva fase 4. Gli elementi architettonici elencati nell'epigrafe dedicatoria di *Octavia,* cioè il portico, i sedili e la cucina al coperto, non attestati in questa fase, sembrano essere caratteristici della dotazione del Santuario poiché compaiono via via negli

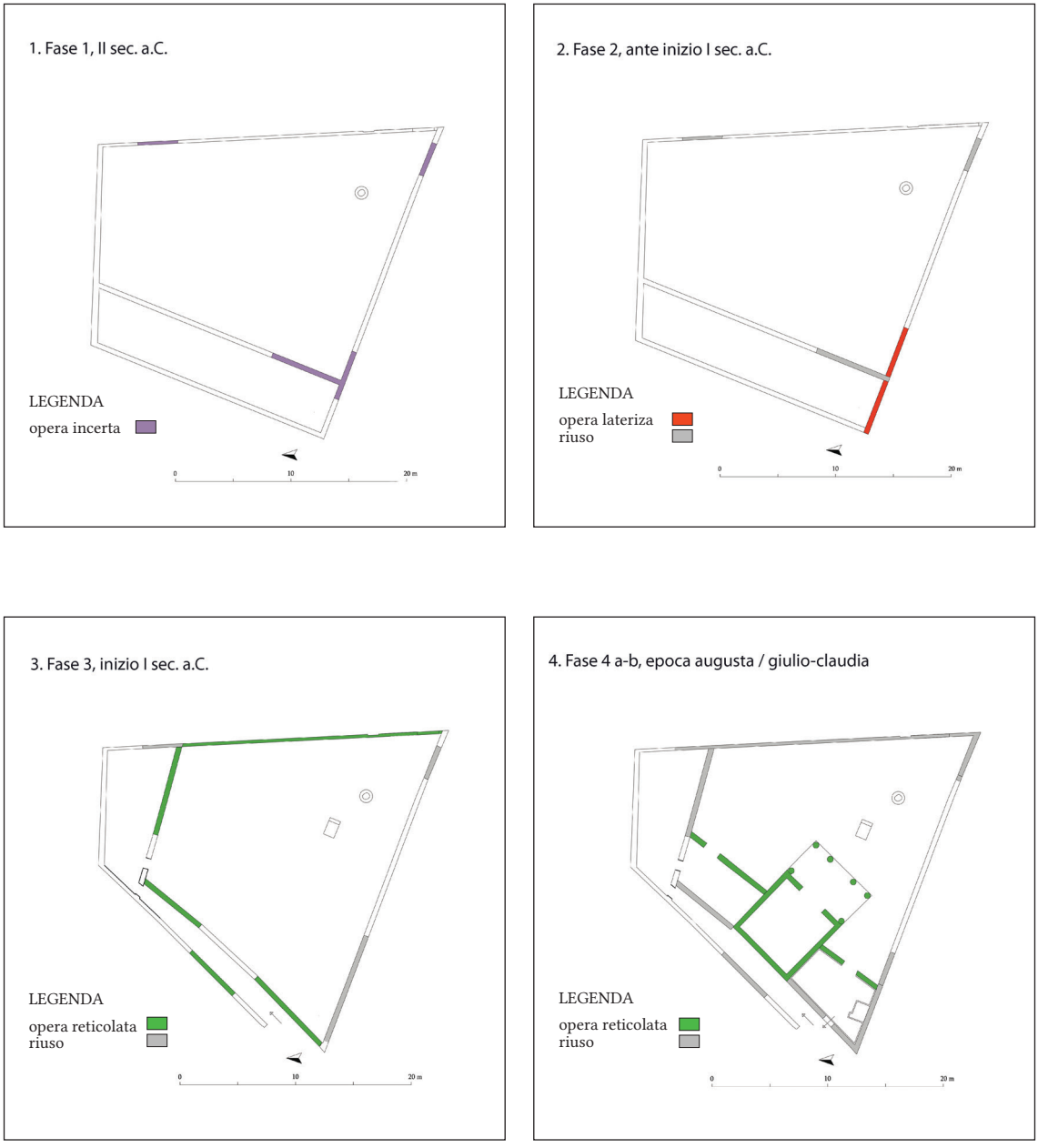
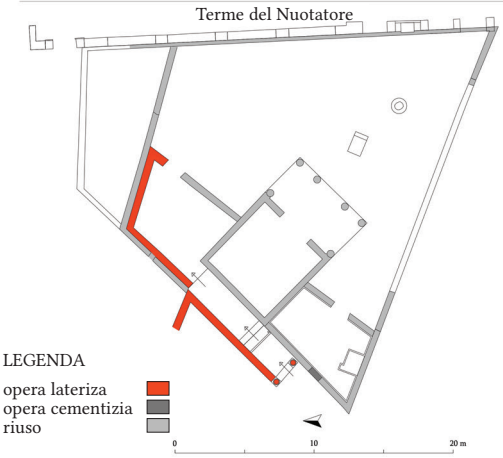
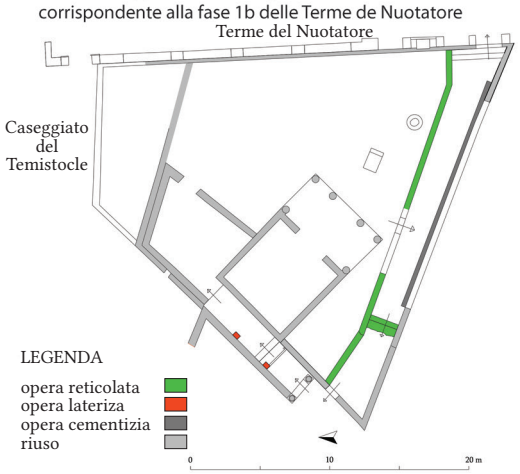


Fig. 1: Ostia, *regio* V, Santuario di Bona Dea, planimetrie ricostruttive.

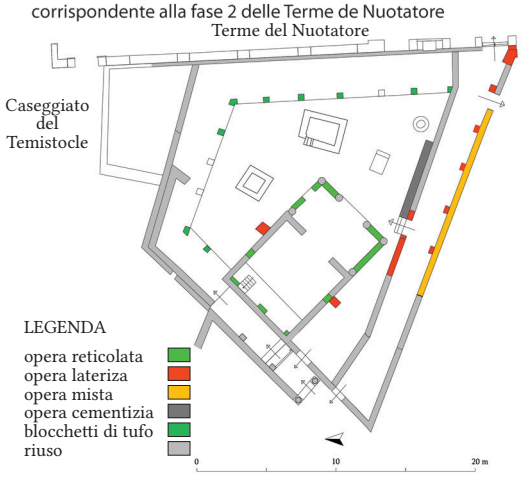
5. Fase 5, epoca neroniano-flavia



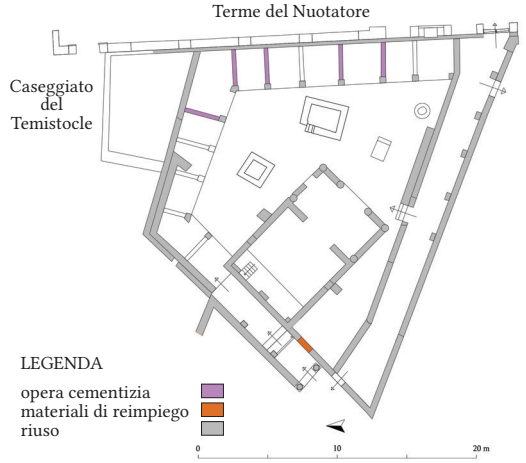
6. Fase 6 a-b, *post* 90-120 d.C.,
corrispondente alla fase 1b delle Terme de Nuotatore



7. Fase 7, età adrianeo-antonina,
corrispondente alla fase 2 delle Terme de Nuotatore



8. Fase 8, *post* II sec. d.C., *ante* IV sec. d.C.



allestimenti delle fasi successive, forse proprio in relazione agli aspetti sociali oltre che religiosi del culto, come propone Anna-Katharina Rieger.[14]

Fase 4 a–b. Datata in epoca augustea/giulio-claudia

Si tratta della seconda e ultima ricostruzione generale del Santuario, durante la quale il tempio viene edificato nella forma che si vede attualmente: un tetrastilo *in antis* con intercolumnio maggiore tra le due colonne centrali, in asse con la porta della cella. La decorazione parietale del tempio è uno dei rari esempi di III stile attestati in Ostia, databile nel primo quarto del I secolo d. C.[15] Il pavimento della cella, anch'esso pertinente all'allestimento originario, era in *opus sectile*. L'ambiente a sud del tempio, pavimentato a *spicatum* con quota 1,43 m s. l. m., porterebbe essere identificato con una nuova *culina,* che sostituiva quella donata da *Octavia.* Il pavimento dell'area scoperta che circonda il tempio era costituito da un battuto di cocciopesto, situato a quota 1,08 m s. l. m., poco più in alto rispetto alle fasi precedenti. Come proposto da Fausto Zevi, questo potrebbe essere il Santuario oggetto della munificenza di *Terentia* moglie di *Cluvius,* identificabile nella matrona ostiense che fu onorata, per l'evergesia nei confronti di Bona Dea e per altre sue benemerenze, con decreto decurionale del 6 d. C.[16] Nell'epigrafe di *Terentia* non è detto in cosa consistesse l'atto evergetico ma la successione stratigrafica delle murature e le decorazioni parietali potrebbero essere lette proprio in questa chiave. Sempre pertinente a questa stessa fase è il cippo con dedica di *Valeria Hetaera.*[17]

Fase 5. Datata all'epoca neroniano-flavia

L'ingresso al Santuario viene ristrutturato per adeguare la rampa alle quote dei livelli stradali, rialzati a partire dall'epoca flavia. Mentre i piani di calpestio interni al Santuario rimangono identici a quelli delle fasi precedenti, la rampa d'ingresso diviene più ripida: il nuovo portone scandito da due colonne laterizie immette nel ballatoio posto a quota 2,02 m s. l. m. che si raccorda tramite alcuni gradini al piano inclinato che va dalla quota di 1,53 m s. l. m. alla quota di 1,10 m s. l. m. La porta che metteva in comunicazione l'esterno del Santuario con l'ambiente probabilmente adibito a *culina,* aperta nella precedente fase 4 b, viene ora tamponata, poiché l'area esterna è stata rialzata di circa 0,60 m. La decorazione parietale di epoca neroniana-flavia presente sul muro est del recinto è da ricondurre a questa fase intermedia, che si colloca tra la ricostruzione augustea del tempio e la costruzione delle Terme del Nuotatore, 80–90 d. C.[18]

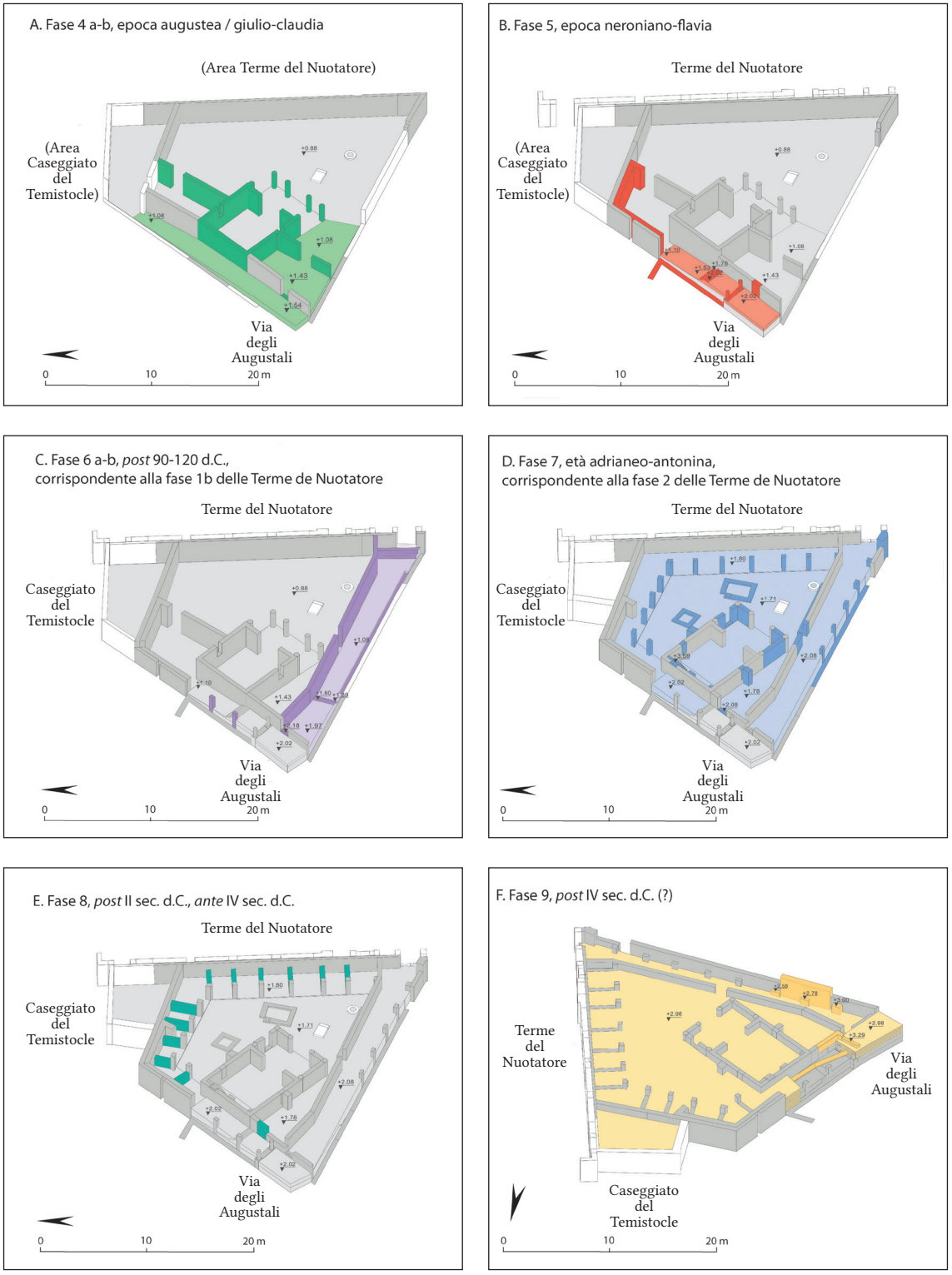


Fig. 2: Ostia, *regio* V, Santuario di Bona Dea, assonometrie ricostruttive.

Fase 6 a–b. Datata *post* 90–120 d. C., corrispondente alla fase 1b delle Terme del Nuotatore

Il recinto del Santuario viene ridotto per fare spazio a un lungo corridoio di accesso, destinato a essere usato per mettere in comunicazione le Terme del Nuotatore con la via degli Augustali e, quindi, con il Decumano. Il nuovo corridoio raccorda tramite due piccole gradinate varie quote differenti: quella delle Terme, 2,08 m s. l.m, e quella interna del Santuario, 1,08 m s. l. m., con la quota della via degli Augustali in questa fase, 2,02 m s. l. m. Questa ristrutturazione dovette comportare la distruzione dell'ambiente interpretato come *culina.* Non è sicuro che vi fosse già in questa fase un passaggio tra il corridoio d'accesso alle Terme e l'interno del Santuario. Un *terminus* cronologico per questo primo gruppo di eventi costruttivi può essere fissato in base alla pittura parietale, databile in epoca flavia.[19]

Fase 7. Datata in età adrianeo-antonina, corrispondente alla fase 2 delle Terme del Nuotatore

Molte sono le modifiche correlabili a questo importante cambiamento: la costruzione di un portico su tre lati, il cui pavimento era a 1,80 m s. l. m.;[20] il rialzamento e la pavimentazione a *spicatum,* con quota di 1,71 m s. l. m. della zona centrale scoperta; la ricostruzione sulla stessa verticale dell'antico altare e del pozzo; l'istallazione di due bacini quadrangolari; il rialzamento della rampa d'ingresso del santuario e del corridoio delle Terme del Nuotatore; il rialzamento di circa 1 m del pavimento della cella del tempio e degli ambienti attigui[21] e la costruzione di un alto podio interno. A causa del notevole rialzamento del livello pavimentale, vengono tamponate le finestre della cella, che risultano essere ora troppo in basso.[22] Il rialzamento dovette comportare anche il rifacimento delle coperture e forse per questo motivo vengono chiusi con muri in opera reticolata gli intercolumni del pronao. La decorazione pittorica della cella e del pronao viene rifatta completamente.[23] Nel settore adiacente all'ingresso delle Terme del Nuotatore si conserva il pavimento in bipedali, i cui bolli datano l'episodio costruttivo nella piena età antonina.[24]

Fase 8. Datata tra la fine del II secolo d. C. e prima del IV d. C.

A questo lungo periodo vanno attribuite piccole modifiche quali la trasformazione del portico, dove vengono ricavati numerosi, piccoli ambienti, e la tamponatura della porta che dava sul ballatoio a nord del portone d'ingresso principale.

Fase 9. Datata dopo il IV secolo d.C. (?)

La completa distruzione del santuario è testimoniata dalla costruzione di due fogne:[25] una che oblitera completamente il ballatoio, il portone e la rampa d'ingresso; l'altra che viene sistemata in corrispondenza dell'estremità occidentale del corridoio d'ingresso alle Terme, che però erano già state abbandonate entro la metà del III secolo d.C. La nuova rete fognaria era disposta al di sotto del basolato più tardo di via degli Augustali, tutt'oggi visibile, posto a quota 2,98 m s.l.m. Secondo quanto affermato da Maria Floriani Squarciapino,[26] il santuario ebbe forse vita molto lunga e il culto fu officiato fino al IV secolo d.C. Tuttavia, l'impianto delle fogne potrebbe far supporre che questo santuario abbia avuto una sorte analoga a quella dell'altro presso Porta Marina, rinvenuto completamente obliterato e rasato poco al di sotto del livello stradale più tardo.[27]

Il santuario e la municipalità

Le tre epigrafi provenienti dal santuario della Regio V testimoniano tre atti di evergesia da parte di tre donne, in due momenti in cui il culto è evidentemente molto celebrato ed entra a far parte dei simboli in cui la municipalità si riconosce e si identifica.

La più antica e complessa è la dedica di *Octavia,* datata tra 80–50 a.C. L'epigrafe è incisa su di una lastra marmorea che è stata rinvenuta sepolta forse intenzionalmente sotto il pavimento rialzato nella fase 7 di età adrianeo-antonina.[28]

> *Octavia M.f. Gamalai / portic(um) poliend(am) / et sedeilia faciund(am) / et culina(m) tegenda(m) / D(eae) B(onae) curavit.*
> «Octavia, daughter of Marcus and wife of Gamala, had the portico plastered, benches made, and the kichen roofed, in honour of Bona Dea».[29]

Questa epigrafe è molto nota e ha assunto un considerevole valore per la storia dei *Gamalae,* una delle più celebri famiglie ostiensi, poiché per concorde interpretazione di Mireille Cébeillac Gervasoni e di Fausto Zevi,[30] *Octavia* è stata identificata con la moglie di *P. Lucilius Gamala senior.*

Seguendo questo filone interpretativo, Anna-Katharina Rieger stabilisce un parallelo tra l'attività evergetica di *Octavia* e quella del marito, entrambe volte alla costituzione di luoghi di culto ma con valenze contrapposte a riguardo della frequentazione pubblica. Circa il significato più ampio di questo culto in Ostia, Rieger stabilisce un confronto tra il culto di Bona Dea e quello di Ercole Vincitore, considerando che questi si rivelano come culti autorappresentativi della comunità e della sua stabilità, nei quali si rispecchiano gli opposti ruoli femminile e maschile nell'ambito della società come nel culto.[31] Effettivamente, si tratta in entrambi i casi di culti antichi e di carattere loca-

le, e l'osservazione di Rieger è particolarmente calzante per il santuario della Regio V, la cui collocazione urbanistica appare simile, ma speculare e contrapposta a quello di Ercole.

La dedica di Octavia, inoltre, è particolare e rara[32] per la precisione con cui enumera tutti i doni che evidentemente erano collegati alle funzioni cultuali del santuario e forse anche alle altre attività d carattere più ampiamente sociale che vi si svolgevano[33].

Le altre due epigrafi appartengono alla fase di età augustea del santuario.

Valeria Hetaera / *dat Bonae Deae* / *opiferae scr(um)*
«Valeria Haetera give to Bona Dea, she who rescues»[34]

Terentia A.f. Cluvi Bonae Deae
«Terentia, daughter of Aulus, wife of Cluvius, to Bona Dea».

Una ricorda un dono generico da parte di *Valeria Hetaera,* forse una liberta,[35] ed è incisa su di un piccolo cippo.

L'altra dedica, ugualmente generica, è quella di *Terentia,* moglie di *Cluvius,* che era iscritta sulla vera del pozzo. Come detto, Fausto Zevi ha identificato Terenzia con la matrona ostiense onorata per l'evergesia nei confronti di Bona Dea e per altre sue benemerenze, con decreto decurionale del 6 d. C.[36] Gli onori ricevuti dalla municipalità significano che quello di *Terentia* non era un dono comune o trascurabile ma un atto di munificenza piuttosto rilevante e pertanto potrebbe essere la intera ricostruzione del santuario che è documentata archeologicamente proprio nella prima metà del I secolo d. C., cioè nella fase 4 a–b.

Tra le varie motivazioni degli atti evergetici della nobiltà ostiense, può esservi anche una forma di emulazione e imitazione di quanto facevano i nobili di Roma, come propone in un suo recente lavoro Attilio Mastrocinque. Egli vede nei due momenti specifici in cui sono testimoniati a Ostia gli atti evergetici verso la Bona Dea una precisa corrispondenza con quanto accadeva in Roma e anche una diretta relazione, dovuta forse anche ai rapporti di conoscenza e amicizia che esistevano tra i protagonisti di queste vicende: in epoca tardo repubblicana *Octavia* moglie di Gamala senior a Ostia e Terentia la moglie di Cicerone a Roma; in epoca augustea Terentia moglie di Cluvius a Ostia e Livia a Roma.

La fase di declino e il calo dell'interesse sociale nei confronti del culto di Bona Dea è visibile solo attraverso le vicende delle ristrutturazioni edilizie che documentano dapprima la riduzione degli spazi sacri e, quindi, la cancellazione totale degli edifici. Queste vicende accomunano i due santuari ostiensi di Bona Dea che sembrano avere avuto la medesima sorte: dapprima la riduzione degli spazi per venire incontro alle esigenze dell'espansione della città che nel caso del santuario della Regio V è dovuto alla necessità di aprire un nuovo ingresso per le Terme del Nuotatore e nel caso del santuario di porta Marina alla costruzione di una fontana lungo il percorso del decumano; in seguito,

la cancellazione definitiva che sembra essere avvenuta in modo identico per entrambi gli edifici, con la demolizione e l'interramento di tutte le strutture.

Note

[1] Oltre ad una rapida disamina delle fonti da parte dello stesso Calza 1942, e ad un *focus* di carattere epigrafico da parte di Cébeillac 1973 poi ripreso in Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2004, il culto di Bona Dea è stato ampiamente trattato da Brouwer 1989, al quale si rimanda per ogni approfondimento. Da ultimo, si vedano Rieger 2004, 233–240, e la relativa recensione in Pensabene 2005.

[2] Calza 1942.

[3] Zevi 1968.

[4] Al momento della scoperta, il Santuario non era stato ancora identificato, Calza et al. 1953, 119. L'attribuzione al culto di Bona Dea avvenne a seguito delle indagini svolte da Maria Floriani Squarciapino tra il 1959 e il 1970, Floriani Squarciapino 1959/1960. Sul Santuario si vedano i risultati delle recenti ricerche in Medri et al. 2017; Medri – Falzone 2018.

[5] Le considerazioni fatte da Brouwer 1989 a riguardo vanno riviste alla luce degli studi successivi.

[6] Mar 1991.

[7] Al momento non è stato ancora possibile scavare alcuni contesti di strati ancora in posto che aiuterebbero a precisare alcune cronologie e i materiali provenienti dagli scavi effettuati dalla Squarciapino sono ancora inediti.

[8] Sull'*incertum* a Ostia, Meiggs 1973, 352; Pavolini 1986, 146. In generale sulla datazione dell'*opus incertum,* si veda la recente discussione sulla *Porticus Aemilia,* Arata, Felici 2011.

[9] Su questa via che condiziona le edificazioni di questo lato della Regio V, si veda Mar 1991.

[10] Ricciardi – Scrinari 1996, 63.

[11] Gismondi lo segnala in due soli edifici, la *domus* di Giove Fulminatore, IV, IV, 3, della metà del II secolo a. C. e il Tempio di Ercole, I, XV, 5, del 100–80 a. C., Calza et al. 1953, 195. Vari esempi di uso precoce del laterizio a Ostia sono raccolti in Coarelli 2000, sui quali tutti si può concordare, salvo quello che riguarda proprio il Santuario di Bona Dea, V, X, 2, come si vedrà poco oltre nella descrizione della fase 4.

[12] Zevi 1997.

[13] Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2004, 79; Cébeillac 1973.

[14] Rieger 2004, 239.

[15] Falzone 2006, 422.

[16] Zevi 1997, 448.

[17] Falzone 2006, 436 e nota 74.

[18] Medri – Di Cola 2013.

[19] Falzone 2007, 40–42; Falzone et al. 2010.

[20] Il pavimento non è conservato ma la sua quota è documentata dalla decorazione parietale relativa a questa fase, vedi oltre.

[21] Sotto il pavimento rialzato di uno di questi ambienti è stata rinvenuta l'epigrafe di *Octavia,* forse intenzionalmente sepolta e non riutilizzata. Questa considerazione precisa l'osservazione già presente in Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2004, 78.

[22] Filippo Coarelli data il tempio oggi visibile in epoca tardoepubblicana e vede nella chiusura delle finestre della cella un effetto dello scandalo causato da Clodio nel 61 a.C., cosa che darebbe un *terminus ante quem* per la data di costruzione del tempio stesso, Coarelli 2000, 92; Coarelli 2004, 91. Questa interpretazione del dato archeologico appare assai poco probabile e più semplicemente la chiusura delle finestre è da riconnettere al rialzamento del livello pavimentale.

[23] Falzone 2017.

[24] Medri – Di Cola 2013, 56–60. 151–164.

[25] La fogna posta più a est è stata quasi completamente asportata durante le indagini svolte da Maria Floriani Squarciapino, ma rimane documentata in una planimetria redatta all'epoca.

[26] Floriani Squarciapino 1959/1960, 95.

[27] Calza 1942, 165.

[28] Vedi sopra.

[29] Traduzione da Brouwer 1989, 425.

[30] Zevi 1973, 1997.

[31] Rieger 2004, 215. 263.

[32] Vi sono pochissime dediche tra quelle note che hanno caratteristiche simili, tra quelle censite in Brouwer 1989 l'unica simile è la n° 18, in cui si menzionano «*aediculam, gradus, tecus, focum*».

[33] Rieger 2004.

[34] Traduzione Autore.

[35] Brouwer 1989.

[36] Zevi 1997, 448.

Indice delle figure

Figg. 1–2: dall'autore.

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The Mithras-Scape: a Case Study from Ostia Antica

Iskander R. G. E. Sonnemans

Abstract

Within the plethora of Roman cultic practice, the Mithras cult took an exceptional role. In contrast to almost all other cults, cultic activities, and their associated material expressions, were focused internally. All cultic space was private and only accessible to initiates. This was a conscious strategy that appears to have helped popularize the cult.

This does however not mean that the Mithraic cult places (*mithraea*) should be seen as isolated nuclei that functioned independently from their larger urban and social contexts.

In this paper the relationship between Mithraic cult and its urban (socio-economic) context is explored through a number of case studies from Ostia. The nature of this site offers us interesting lines of enquiry to examine this concurrence of social, economic and cultic demands on Roman society. By looking at the way Mithraic cult sites interacted with their built environments, combined with the material contents of the cult places themselves, a better understanding of the cult's larger socio-economic impact can be achieved.

Contrary to the cult's inward focus and its display of privacy, its socio-economic implications carried much further within the groups adhering to Mithras. It can be suggested that *mithraea* formed spaces of interaction and stages for self-promotion in various ways that extended beyond the confined cultic space.

Introduction

Since the days of Cumont, a significant amount of scholarly attention has focused on the Roman cult of Mithras.[1] The focus on just the mithraeum, considering them as isolated spaces, has long prevailed. Instead, I will argue for mithraea as nodes in larger networks. These are several types of networks: religious, social and structural.

New lines of enquiry, as extensively pioneered by the late Hanna Stöger,[2] have offered the possibility to better understand the dynamics of Roman urban life through the archaeological record. The site of Ostia offers a fascinating opportunity to look at mithraea from these lines of approach. Ostia, for the preservation of many architectural elements, combined with the highest density of excavated mithraea known, offers a most suitable dataset to look at the cult from a new perspective. In this article we will look at this through a number of case studies from the Ostian mithraea. It should however be stressed that this in term only gives us proper insight into the Mithraic cult in Ostia since, as will be explained later on, the cultic expression and the role the Mithraic cult fulfilled is highly contextual and localized through time and space. Nevertheless,

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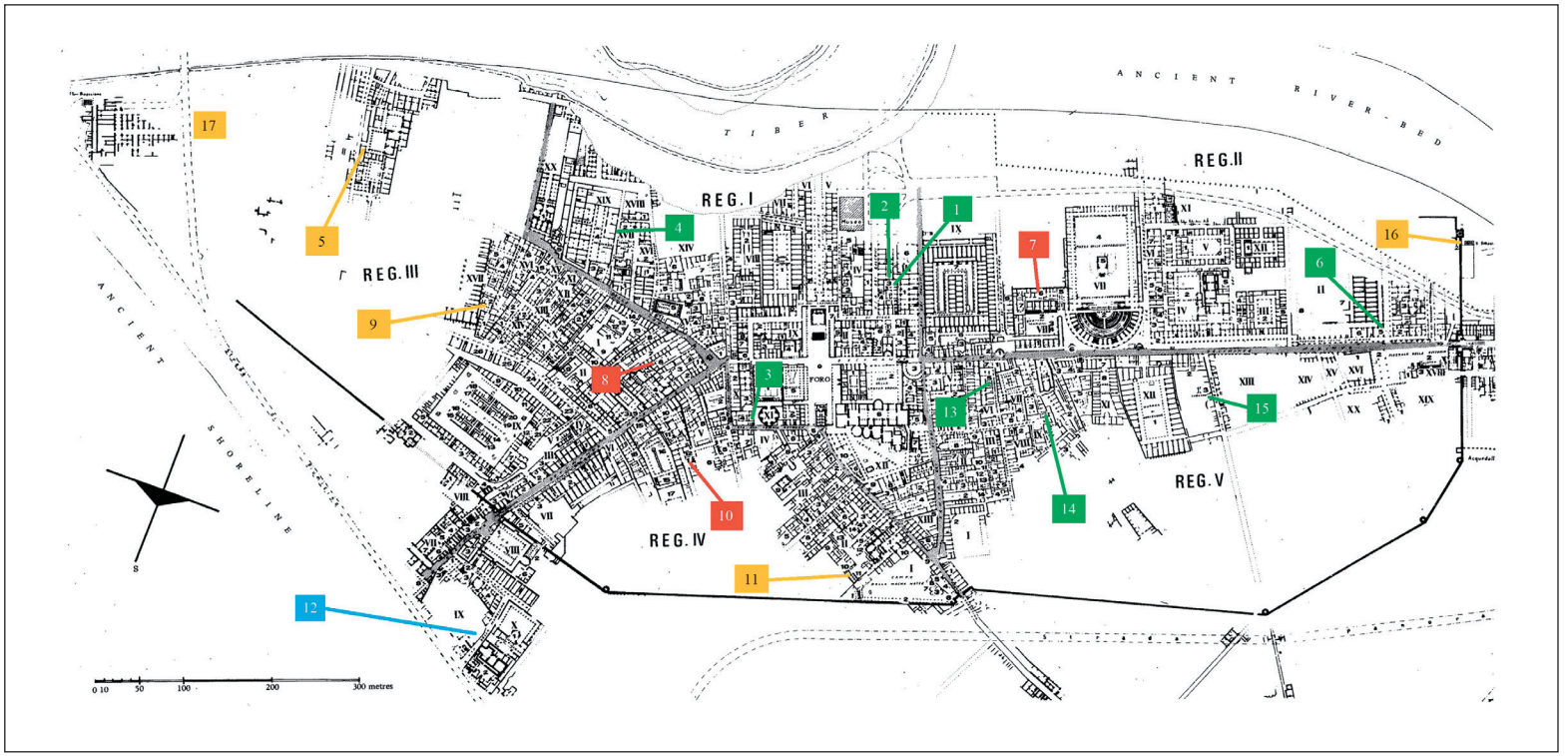

Fig. 1: The mithraea within the site of Ostia. The colours indicate the era of construction. Red: 160–180 C.E. Yellow: 180–210 C.E. Green: 210–275 Blue: After 300 C.E. 1. Casa di Diana mithraeum; 2. Mithraeum of Lucretius Menander; 3. Mithraeum of Fructosus; 4. Baths of Mitra mithraeum; 5. 'Imperial Palace' mithraeum; 6. Mitrhaeum near Porta Romana; 7. Seven spheres mithraeum; 8. Painted walls mithraeum; 9. Planted foot mithraeum; 10. Seven gates mithraeum; 11. Mithraeum of the animals; 12. Coloured marbles mithraeum; 13. Mithraeum of the serpents; 14. Mithraeum of Felicissimus; 15. So-called Sabazeum; 16. Aldobrandini mithraeum; 17. Fagan mithraeum. Note that no. 15 is uncertain whether it is a mithraeum and the location of no. 17 is approximate.

some of the broader elements of the Mithras cult in general can be argued for and seem to have had a universal function.

The Spatial Interaction of Mithraea

Through the aforementioned new lines of enquiry, we can ask the long excavated contexts of the mithraea new questions. By analyzing how the different spaces that make up the context are connected, one can quantify how these spaces would have interacted and whether they facilitated access or not. These are the some of the basic principles of space syntax[3]. In the mithraea with the best preserved structural contexts this analysis was applied through Access Analysis, which yielded several interesting results.[4] It should be noted that even in the contexts where due to a lack of preservation or excavation this type of analysis would have been too speculative, in most cases the results probably would have been similar to the table shown.

A distinction can be made in the structural contexts of the mithraea: buildings used solely as mithraea,[5] or buildings wherein the mithraeum was integrated into a larger, multi-purpose context. In both types of contexts, even in semi-public spaces, which were of mixed use, such as guild houses, the cella of the mithraeum is virtually always the most private space within them.[6] In the table this is observed through the depth

Mithraeum	Mixed use of context	Context depth	Depth of cella	Mean real relative asymmetry	Cella real relative asymmetry
Casa di Diana	Yes	7	6 & 7	1,062	1,451/1,811
Lucretius Menander	No	4	4	1,061	1,375
Fructosus	Yes	4	4	0,860	1,469
Painted Walls	No?	6	6	1,236	1,825
Coloured Marbles	No	3	3	0,977	1,240
Serpents	Yes?	5	5	0,697	1,194
Felicissimus	No	2	2	1,050	1,719

Table 1: Overview of the placement of several of the mithraea's cellae within their respective contexts. Note that the cella of the Casa di Diana mithraeum is divided into two distinct rooms. In case of the Serpents mithraeum, it was decided to analyse the entire building block, in which it is situated.

of the cellae compared to the overall depth of the contexts, as well as the real relative asymmetry. The asymmetry is even more indicative of the (lack of) level of integration of the cella within the context as any space with a significantly higher score than the mean of the context can be considered to have a low interaction potential, thus being less accessible.

This shows that the (cella of the) mithraeum seems to have been intended only for the inner circle of people who would frequent the buildings and not for outsiders occasionally entering for the building's other uses. This makes it apparent that the choice for the cella space seems to have been very deliberate. Furthermore, to otherwise reach or enhance this effect, often a number of architectural modifications were applied to the pre-existing spaces.[7] In several of these mithraea one or several small, sequential antechambers were constructed to create an artificial feeling of distance.[8] Amongst the spatial interaction there is furthermore the use of height differences observed in several mithraea. The use of stairs (sometimes combined with one or several antechambers) and lower-lying rooms as cult rooms proper is observed in several of the mithraea. This could have been done to invoke a sentiment recalling the central Mithraic myth of the Tauroctony, which was set in a cave.

Exchange of Ideas

Apart from the previously argued conscious and shared ideas in the spatial layout and design of the mithraea, the exchange is also expressed in the design and contents of the cella of the mithraeum proper. These can be observed in several material categories.

Firstly, six out of the 16 known pavements in the mithraea of Ostia have a Mithraic theme to them.[9] The designs vary quite a bit, and cover most of the cult's lifetime.[10] This seems unremarkable at first, however there is no other known mithraeum in the entire Roman Empire, which had mosaics with a Mithraic theme.

Secondly, out of the eight surviving Mithraic altars found in Ostia, four are so-called illuminated altars. Contrary to the mosaics, this is something that is observed in mithraea outside of Ostia, albeit in incredibly small numbers.[11]

Lastly, in most mithraea from Ostia the altar is combined with a stairs-like construction (see fig. 2).[12] This is either presented as an altar integrated within the stairs or the altar being placed in front of the stairs. Interestingly, several of the earlier mithraea are retrofitted with these stairs, as well as the illuminated altars, after they became 'popular' somewhere in the early 3rd century CE.

The argument of just copying of typical architectural elements when founding a new mithraeum is countered by the retroactive fitting of new elements in already existing mithraea. This is observed in all three categories mentioned.[13] Finally, a Mithraic inscription, most likely from the Aldobrandini mithraeum, hints at a hierarchy amongst the *paters* of the different cultic groups, naming a certain Sextus Pompeus Maximus as

Fig. 2: The altar and altar-stairs of the Imperial Palace mithraeum. Originally it was covered with marble and topped with a statue of Mithras, most likely a Tauroctony. Scale = 50 cm.

the *pater patrum*.[14] This all hints at a continuous exchange of ideas and contact between the different smaller groups.

The Social and Economic Dimensions

The exchanges of ideas do have their limitations. All of the better-preserved Ostian mithraea have a certain distinction to them. It seems to have been a mix-and-match of figurative and decorative Mithraic elements for each Mithraic group (or their *pater*) to express what they deemed to constitute a mithraeum. Economics must have played a significant part in this decision making process, since the execution of the different mithraea hints at significantly different level of wealth between the groups.

Reuse of older Mithraic and non-Mithraic elements within the later mithraea could be seen as either economical or giving oneself legitimacy through the connectedness with the past.[15]

The distinct visual culture, as well as the aforementioned ritualized entry, shows that this was very much an experience driven cult. This is further enforced by the social nature of it; there is no evidence of domestic, individual worshipping of the cult in Ostia, and examples of individual worship are quite rare in the Roman world in general.[16]

An even stronger indication that this cult was indeed based around the social experience is put forward through the scattered information we have on the practised rituals. Here two rituals in particular come into place. The first one is the *rite de passage* initiates had to undergo to become a member of the cult. This was apparently a long and strenuous effort on the part of the initiate.[17] From anthropological studies we know that this enforces the sense of belonging to a group and marks its exclusivity.[18] The second one is the ritual feasts that took place within these mithraea on a regular basis. These feasts were preceded by gifts of the cult's members to the *pater* in the form of either money or goods, to be used in the feasting or be used as a contribution to the mithraeum.[19] In turn the *pater* would have been most likely responsible for the feast. Both this feasting and the reciprocity through the exchange of food and other goods would have enforced the social ties between members.[20]

This in turn also would have had social and economic consequences outside the mithraea. The coin hoards found in several of the mithraea, including Ostia,[21] might have functioned as a financial security for members in times of distress, as well as for the functioning of the mithraeum itself. Furthermore it might have offered new possibilities for its members in the fields of employment through the connections found in the mithraea. Mithras never became a public cult in Ostia, thus all mithraea were private enterprises.[22] Due to the (intentionally) small-scale nature of the cult places they seemed to fullfil a need that was not filled by public cults. The aforementioned social and economic functioning of the Mithras cult might have been a leading factor in its popularity.

Conclusion

In this paper it was attempted to approach Mithraism in Ostia from some lesser-studied perspectives. The many mithraea in Ostia show strong similarities in layout, design and contents. One should see the relative popularity of Mithraism[23] within the context of Ostia. Ostia saw a huge wave of immigration during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. This rapid urbanization would have changed the social landscape drastically. It should be considered that there was a demand to return to smaller social nuclei.

Mithraic groups might have been one of several answers for this demand for smaller, tight-knit groups.[24] The arguments presented in this paper all hint towards forming an exclusive, private and small-scale social group. This group feeling was further enforced by a very distinct religious identity and perhaps economic security as well. One could imagine similar demands were present in other major urban centers such as Rome,

where similar large numbers of mithraea have been found. Furthermore, these mithraea formed part of lager networks, not only between the different Mithraic groups, but also amongst fields of profession through guilds, and perhaps certain neighborhoods or insulae. The mithraea were stages for self-promotion and strengthening of relationships both inside and outside the mithraeum.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank our beloved Hanna Stöger for making this publication possible; as the author's supervisor she was of invaluable worth in the research and writing process. She will be dearly missed as an excellent scholar, and most of all as a kind and compassionate person.

Notes

[1] Cumont 1903

[2] Stöger 2011.

[3] Hillier and Hanson 1984, 11–14.

[4] The software used in this analysis was JASS, developed by the School of Architecture of the Swedish KTH; see <https://www.arch.kth.se/en/forskning/urban-design/software-1.675214> for more information and a link to the software. The plans used in this analysis were by Calza (1953) and David (2016), whilst taking into consideration subsequent structural analyses by in the case of Calza by Falzone (1998), White (2012), Oome (2007), Hermansen (1982), Bianchi (1998) and Heres (1982).

[5] In part due to the nature of the site, the function of many ('empty') rooms is virtually impossible to reconstruct. It is perhaps possible that some of these buildings with the sole function of mithraeum also served as the residence for an individual, most likely the *pater*.

[6] Although there is only one mithraeum in Ostia that can certainly be associated to a guild house, the Fructosus mithraeum belonging to the Stuppatores guild, several other mithraea have possible links to guilds and guild houses (see note 24).

[7] Except for possibly the Imperial Palace mithraeum, all mithraea were reused spaces (Spurza 1999, 248).

[8] Hillier – Vaughan 2007

[9] See Becatti 1954 for images and the most extensive descriptions for each of the pavements.

[10] The ones that seem to be very similar in mosaic design as well as dating are the Seven Gates and Seven Spheres mithraea. Both most likely dating to the 170s (Beck 1979), while the Felicissimus mithraeum has the last Mithraic mosaic dating to around 275, Heres 1982, 94.

[11] The most notable example is the similarity between the altar found in the Painted Walls mithraeum and one of the altars found in the mithraeum of Carrawburgh on the Hadrian's wall (Becatti 1954, 61).

[12] In some literature this is referred to as a *bema,* for example Spurza 1999, 248.

[13] The Painted Walls mithraeum is the clearest example in this case. Probably being the oldest mithraeum known from Ostia, in later phases it is both retrofitted with an illuminated altar and a stairs-like construct (Becatti 1954, 61). Furthermore, the Planted Foot and Imperial Palace mithraea received an altar-stairs and mosaic pavement and a mosaic pavement in a secondary phase respectively. Becatti 1954, 82–84; GdS 33, 99.

[14] C.I.L. XIV, 403; Becatti 1954, 42.

[15] See White 2012 for an extensive analysis of the reuse of Mithraic elements in different Ostian mithraea.

[16] Gordon (2004, 264–267) argues that it was most likely mostly individually practiced when one lost connection to their Mithraic group.

[17] For a more detailed account of these initiations see Beck 2000.

[18] See for example Van Gennep 2004, 26–39.

[19] Vermaseren – Van Essen 1965, 158 f.

[20] Mauss 1954, 72.

[21] A large coin hoard was found in the Imperial Palace mithraeum. Spurza 1999, 27.

[22] Latteur 2011.

[23] As far as we can tell from the archaeological record, the amount of individuals participating in the cult was only a small minority of Ostia's population. For a more detailed examination see Sonnemans 2017, 129; Rives (2010, 251) observed similar overestimations in the popularity of the mystery cults by earlier scholars in general.

[24] Another 'answer' can be seen in the form of the many guilds that formed in Ostia during the same time. Guilds also provided a financial security to their members (Bakker 1994, 177). Several Mithraic groups also seem to have overlapped with guilds. The Fructosus mithraeum is located inside the contemporary guild house of the Stuppatores; the Porta Romana mithraeum is located close to the guild the coach drivers (Hermansen 1981, 81); the Imperial Palace mithraeum is located very close to the seat of the grain merchants (Spurza 1999, 314) The Casa di Diana mithraeum seems to be located in an insula refurbished as guild house for an unknown guild, perhaps the millers guild (Bakker 1994, 205).

Image Credits

Fig. 1: after Meiggs 1973, fig 1, modified by author. – Fig. 2: Photo by the author. – Tab. 1: Made by the author using Microsoft Word.

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Zur Deutung der ‚Roten Halle' in Pergamon

Winfried Held

Die ‚Rote Halle', das größte Gebäude Pergamons, entstand während der Herrschaft Kaiser Hadrians und wird bisher meist als Tempel für die ägyptischen Götter interpretiert. Sie wurde zunächst zwischen 1934 und 1938 von Otfried Deubner und Oskar Ziegenaus sowie 1974/76 von Klaus Nohlen erforscht. Eine umfassende Untersuchung initiierte Adolf Hoffmann und wurde seit 2002 von Corinna Brückener (Architektur) und Ulrich Mania (Skulptur) durchgeführt.[1] Die Publikation zu den Skulpturen von Mania[2] erschien 2011.

Mania interpretiert die Rote Halle als Gebäude, das den ägyptischen und orientalischen Göttern geweiht war. Er erwägt auch eine zusätzliche Funktion im Rahmen des Kaiserkults.[3] Die Verbindung mit dem römischen Kaiserkult wurde bereits von Katja Lembke und Katharina Rieger auf dem Symposion zu ägyptischen Kulten, das im Rahmen des Rote-Halle-Projekts in Bergama 2003 stattfand, vorgeschlagen.[4] Ich schließe mich dieser Ansicht an, möchte sie im Folgenden aber konkreter herausarbeiten.

Die Rote Halle ist ein singulärer Bau.[5] Selbst seine Bautechnik, Ziegelmauern mit Marmorverkleidung, ist in Kleinasien einzigartig.[6] Es handelt sich um einen ca. 58 m langen, 25 m breiten und bis zu 19 m hoch erhaltenen Tempel, der in einen gewaltigen Bezirk von etwa 266 × 100 m eingebunden ist (Abb. 1). Er wird von zwei Seitenhöfen

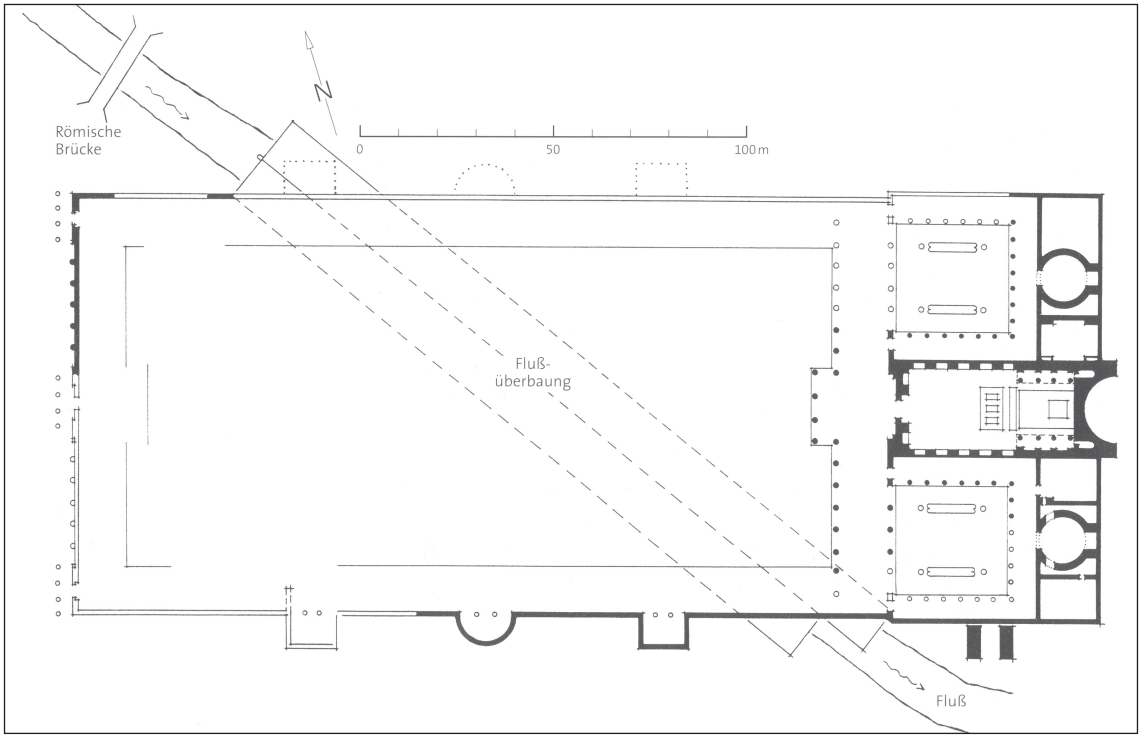

Abb. 1: Pergamon, Rote Halle, Plan.

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sowie Rundbauten mit Kuppeln flankiert. Den riesigen vorgelagerten Hof im Westen schmücken rechteckige und halbrunde Nischen. Seine dezidiert römische Architektur und Bautechnik macht die Rote Halle zu einem Fremdling in Kleinasien und verbindet sie mit dem römischen Kaiser. Verwandte Bauten sind das Forum Pacis in Rom und die Hadriansbibliothek in Athen.

Zu den besonderen Einrichtungen des Tempels (Abb. 2) gehören Wasserbecken vor dem Podium des Kultbilds und zwei Treppen am östlichen Ende der Cella, die hinauf zum Dach führen. Es gab zudem ein System unterirdischer Korridore, die von den Seitenhöfen her unter die Halle führten. Dort knickten sie nach Osten ab und endeten in einer größeren Kammer unter dem Podium der Kultstatue, die Mania als Orakelraum interpretiert.[7] Von hier aus führte eine Treppe nach oben zur Basis der Kultstatue und – von außen unsichtbar – in das Innere der Kultstatue hinein. Durch die neuen Untersuchungen stellte sich heraus, dass der Ausgang bereits mit der Errichtung der Kultbildbasis verschlossen wurde. Auch die unterirdischen Korridore wurden nie genutzt und ihm Rahmen einer Planänderung während des Baus mit Mauern versperrt.[8]

Die Größe der Basis lässt auf eine Kultstatue kolossalen Formats schließen. Wolfgang Radt vermutete, dass die Korridore Priestern Zugang zum Inneren der hohlen Kultstatue gewährten, die den Gott zum Sprechen brachten.[9] Sehr wahrscheinlich war diese Art von Orakel, die in der römischen Kaiserzeit auch anderenorts praktiziert wurde,[10] in der Tat der ursprüngliche Zweck dieser verborgenen Einrichtung.

Die traditionelle Interpretation der Roten Halle als Heiligtum der ägyptischen Götter basiert zum einen auf Einrichtungen wie den unterirdischen Korridoren, den Treppen zum Dach und den Wasserbecken vor dem Podium, zum anderen auf den ägyptisierenden Karyatiden der Seitenhöfe. Während Katja Lembke betont, dass die Karyatiden nicht mit ägyptischem Kult zu verbinden sind, sondern dem Gebäude lediglich einen allgemein ägyptisierenden Charakter verleihen, verbindet sie Mania erneut mit ägyptischem Kult. Sie sind tatsächlich mehr archaisierend als ägyptisierend und hatten separat gearbeitete schwarze Gesichter, die mit Hilfe eines konsolenartigen Zapfens auf die marmornen Karyatiden aufgesteckt waren. Diese Technik wird als einzigartig beschrieben, doch gibt es eine bisher übersehene Parallele in den von Ralf Grüßinger untersuchten Medusen des Tempels der Venus und Roma in Rom[11] – einem weiteren kolossalen, von Hadrian errichteten Tempel.

Alle übrigen Skulpturen weisen keinerlei Verbindung mit Ägypten auf. Im Südhof stand die kolossale Statue einer Kybele, die auf einem Löwen reitet, im Nordhof die Sitzstatue eines bärtigen Vatergottes. Mania interpretiert ihn als Sarapis, doch handelt es sich mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit um Zeus. Der über die linke Schulter gelegte Hüftmantel ist typisch für Zeus, während Sarapis in der Regel unter dem Himation einen Chiton trägt.[12]

Die korinthischen Kapitelle der Kolonnade vor dem Tempel waren mit „Flügelfrauen" verziert,[13] die ich als Niken interpretieren möchte. Sie sind mit dem Kaiser zu verbinden

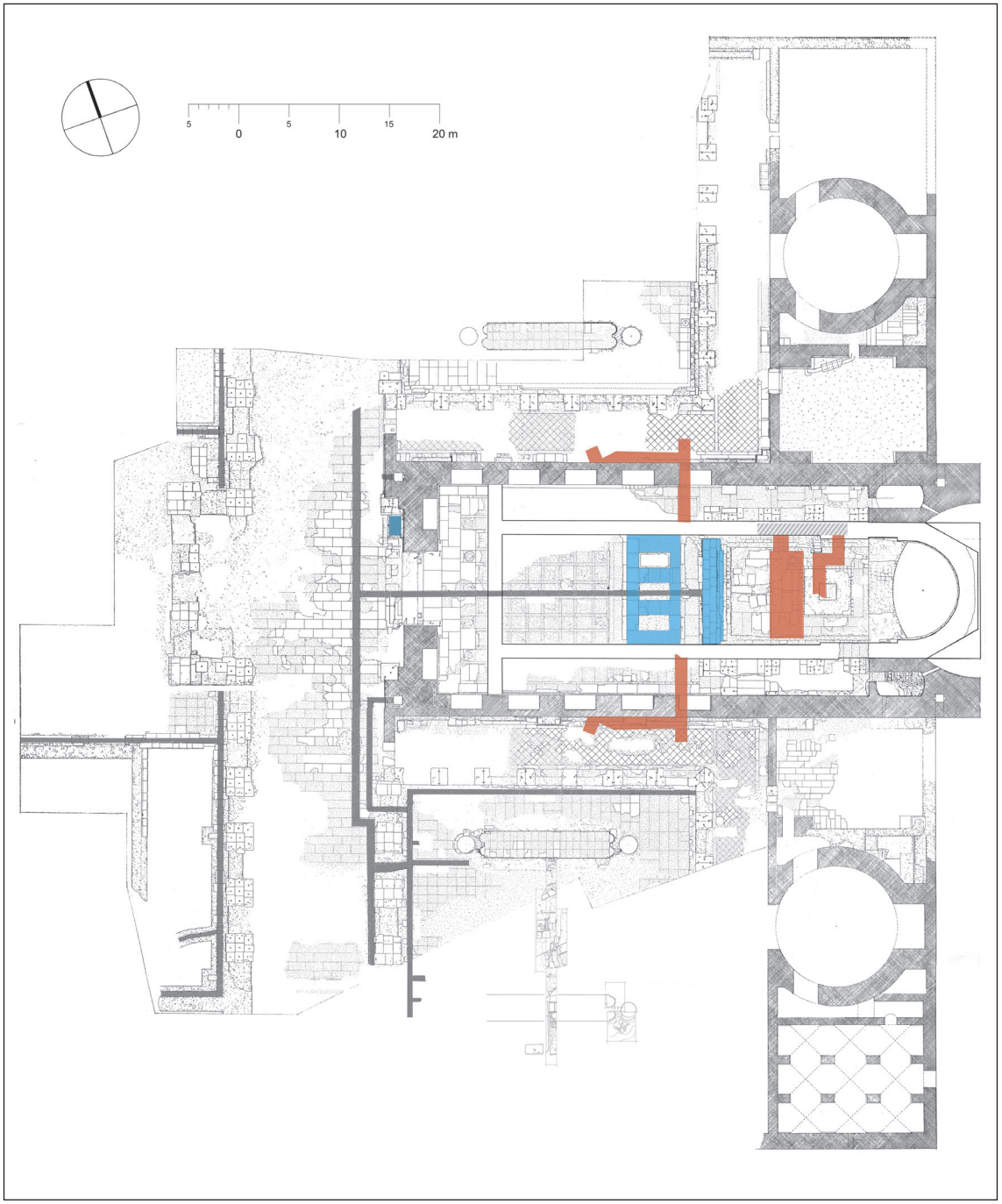


Abb. 2: Pergamon, Rote Halle, Wasserbecken (blau) und unterirdische Gänge (rot).

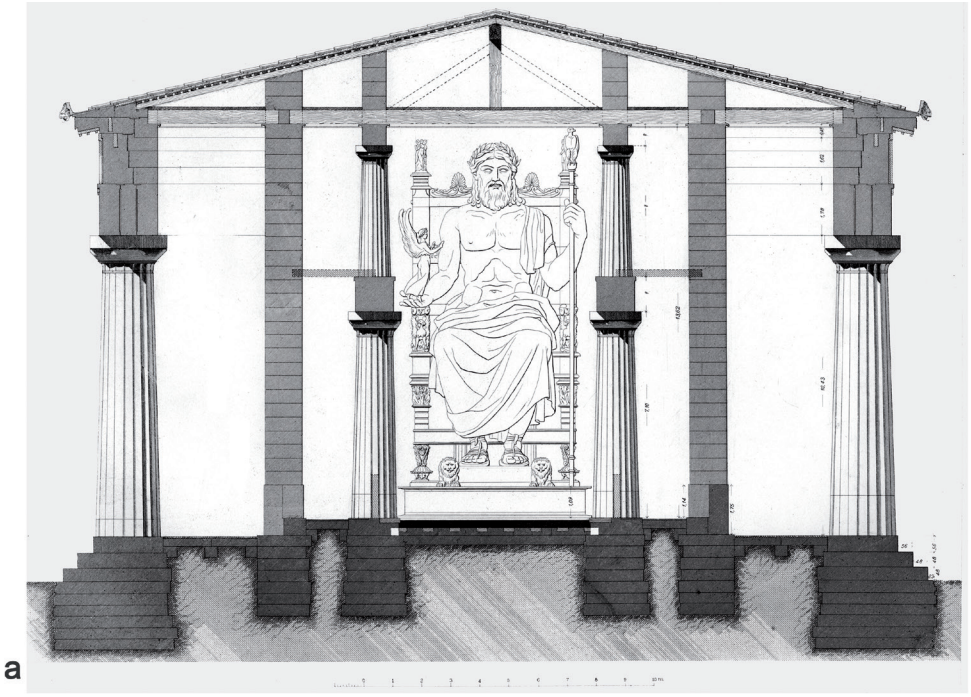
und haben eine Parallele in den Niken auf den Antenkapitellen und im Rankenfries des Augustus-Roma-Tempels in Ankara.[14]

Bisher unbeachtet blieb ein anderer Aspekt. Der Tempel hat an den Langseiten zehn Fenster und unter den Fenstern zehn große Nischen. Zwei weitere Nischen gleicher Größe befinden sich beiderseits des Portals. Die Gesamtzahl von zwölf Nischen entspricht möglicherweise nicht zufällig der Zahl der olympischen Götter. Wenn wir in den Nischen Statuen der olympischen Götter rekonstruieren, wäre der Tempel ein Pantheon.

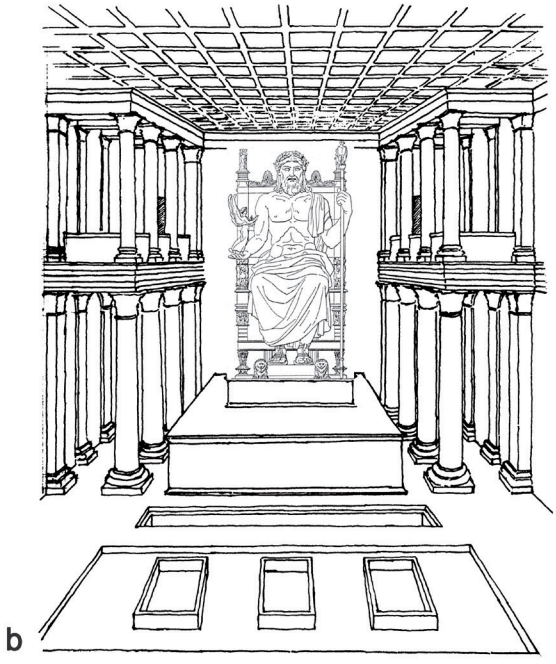
Die ihnen gegenüberstehende Kultstatue muss nach den Maßen der Basis eine kolossale Sitzstatue gewesen sein, die von einer zweistöckigen Säulenarchitektur flankiert wird. Auf Höhe ihres oberen Geschosses befanden sich hinter den Säulen Galerien, die über die Treppenhäuser zugänglich waren. Mania verbindet diese Gestaltung der Cella mit zeitgenössischen syrischen Tempeln, doch waren die syrischen Tempeladyta steinerne Baldachine, die sich in Gestalt und Funktion klar von der Architektur der Roten Halle unterscheiden und damit als Vorbild auszuschließen sind.[15]

Eine viel engere, jedoch bisher übersehene Parallele ist der Zeustempel in Olympia, der auf den ersten Blick keinerlei Ähnlichkeit mit der Roten Halle zu haben scheint. Die Rahmung des Kultbilds im Inneren der Cella mit einer zweigeschossigen Säulenarchitektur stimmt aber überein, und auch in Olympia gab es seitliche, über Treppen erschlossene Galerien.[16] Daher ist davon auszugehen, dass der olympische Zeustempel das Vorbild für den Ostteil des Tempelinnenraums war (Abb. 3). Da es sich dabei um die Inszenierung des Kultbilds handelte, impliziert dies insbesondere, dass auch die von Phidias gefertigte Goldelfenbeinstatue des Zeus, eines der Sieben Weltwunder der Antike, rezipiert wurde. Pausanias berichtet weiterhin von einem Becken im Cellaboden vor dem Zeus des Phidias, das mit Öl gefüllt war – was wiederum an die Wasserbecken in der Roten Halle erinnert (Abb. 4). Der Parthenon in Athen habe vor der Athena Parthenos eine entsprechende Einrichtung mit Wasser aufgewiesen.[17] Das Becken in Olympia ist im archäologischen Befund bezeugt und entspricht mit schwarzen Platten und einem Rand aus weißem Marmor Pausanias' Beschreibung.[18] Zu erwähnen ist zudem die Goldelfenbein-Statue, die Hadrian für den Tempel des Zeus Olympios in Athen stiftete und für deren Pflege er die Nachfahren des Phidias verpflichtete.[19]

Zum Vergleich sei an dieser Stelle der Hadrianstempel in Tarsos vorgestellt. Seine als Donuk Taş bezeichnete Ruine wurde in den 1990er Jahren von Nezahat Baydur ausgegraben und in einem Survey unter meiner Leitung 2012 und 2013 erforscht.[20] Obwohl nur die Füllungen zwischen den ausgeraubten Fundamenten des Podiums erhalten blieben, konnte Henning Burwitz den Tempel in seinen Grundzügen rekonstruieren. Es gelang ihm sogar, eine Planänderung des Tempels auf Höhe der vierten Quaderlage nachzuweisen. Seine ursprünglich vorgesehene Gestalt war die eines Pseudodipteros auf einer Krepis mit verdoppelter Säulenstellung in der Front und vermutlich einem Sekos im Inneren. Dieser Plan wiederholt weitgehend, auch in seinen absoluten Maßen, den des Apollontempels in Didyma, von dem nur die innere Säulenreihe der Peristase weg-



a



b

Abb. 3: a. Olympia, Zeustempel, Schnitt mit Kultbild und Galerien. – b. Pergamon, Rote Halle, Rekonstruktion der Cella mit Kultbild.

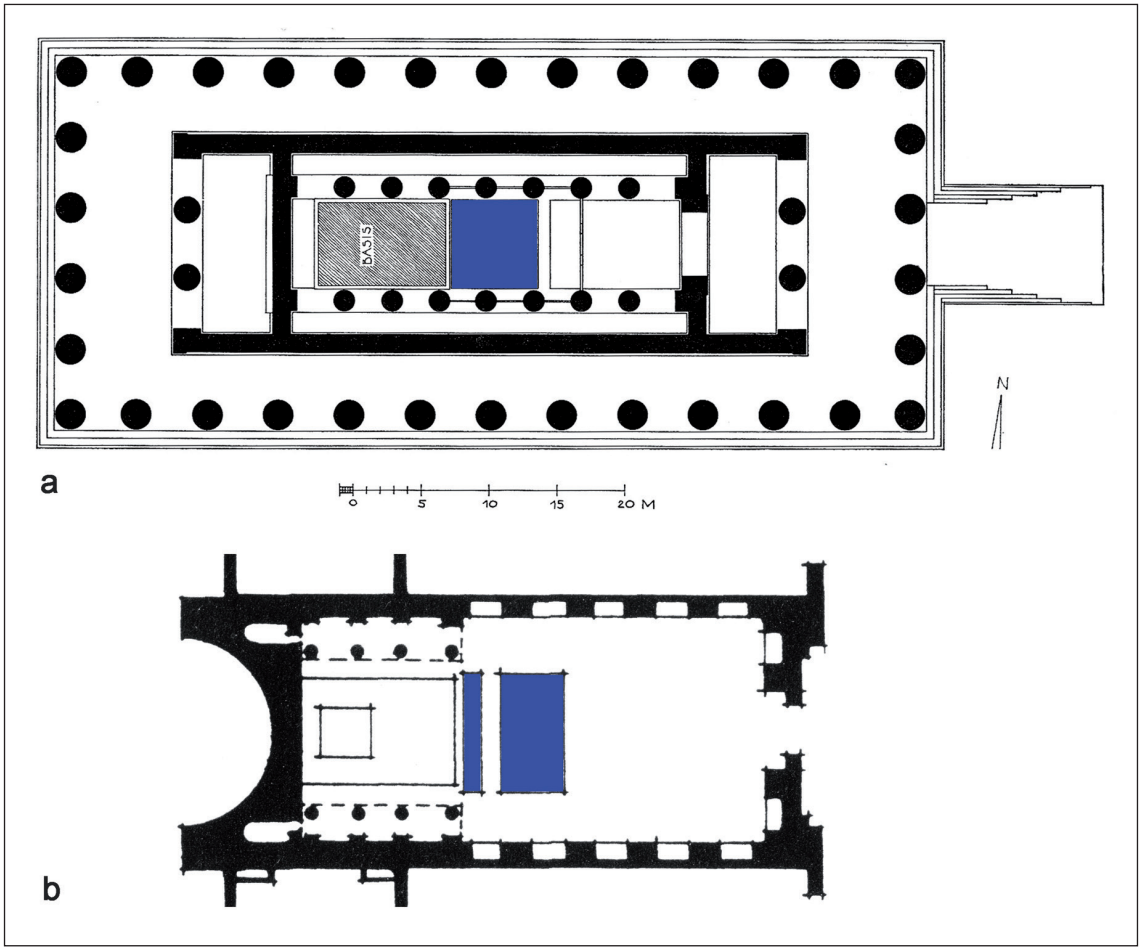


Abb. 4: a. Olympia, Zeustempel, Grundriss mit Becken (blau). – b. Pergamon, Rote Halle, Grundriss mit Wasserbecken (blau).

gelassen wurde. Nach der Planänderung wurde der Tempel hingegen auf ein ca. 8 m hohes Podium gesetzt. Unter der Cella wurde ein unterirdischer, mit einem Keilsteingewölbe überdachter Saal errichtet, darüber lässt sich eine überdeckte Cella mit vorgesetzten Säulen entlang der Seitenwände rekonstruieren. Am hinteren Ende befand sich ein erhöhter Bereich, auf dem die kolossale Kultstatue stand (Abb. 5. 6). Das Innere der Cella ähnelte damit dem ‚Bacchustempel' in Baalbek.[21]

Im Hadrianstempel in Tarsos flankierten damit ebenfalls zweigeschossig zu rekonstruierende Säulenstellungen das Kultbild. Er hatte zudem Treppen, die vom Niveau der Cella in den unterirdischen Saal hinabführten und die sich in den Cellatürwänden befunden haben müssen, da hier die Fundamente für eine einfache Mauer erheblich zu breit sind. Weil sich an gleicher Stelle im Bacchustempel von Baalbek zwei Treppenhäuser befinden, die auf das Dach führten, ist anzunehmen, dass sie auch in Tarsos nicht nur nach unten, sondern zugleich nach oben auf das Dach hinaufführten.

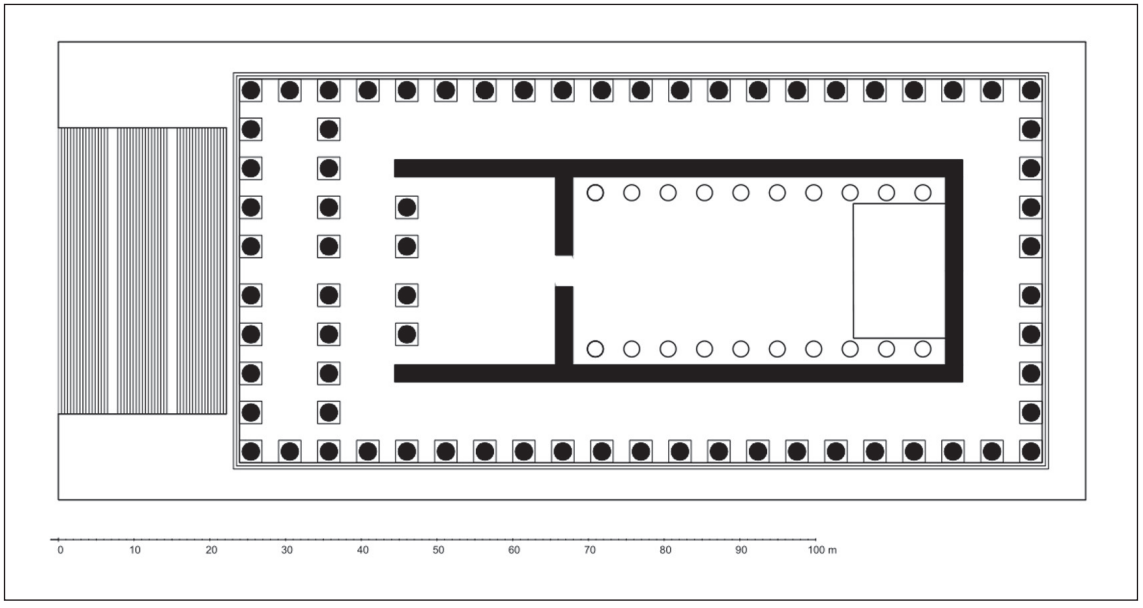


Abb. 5: Tarsos, Hadrianstempel (Donuk Taş), Plan; M 1:1000.

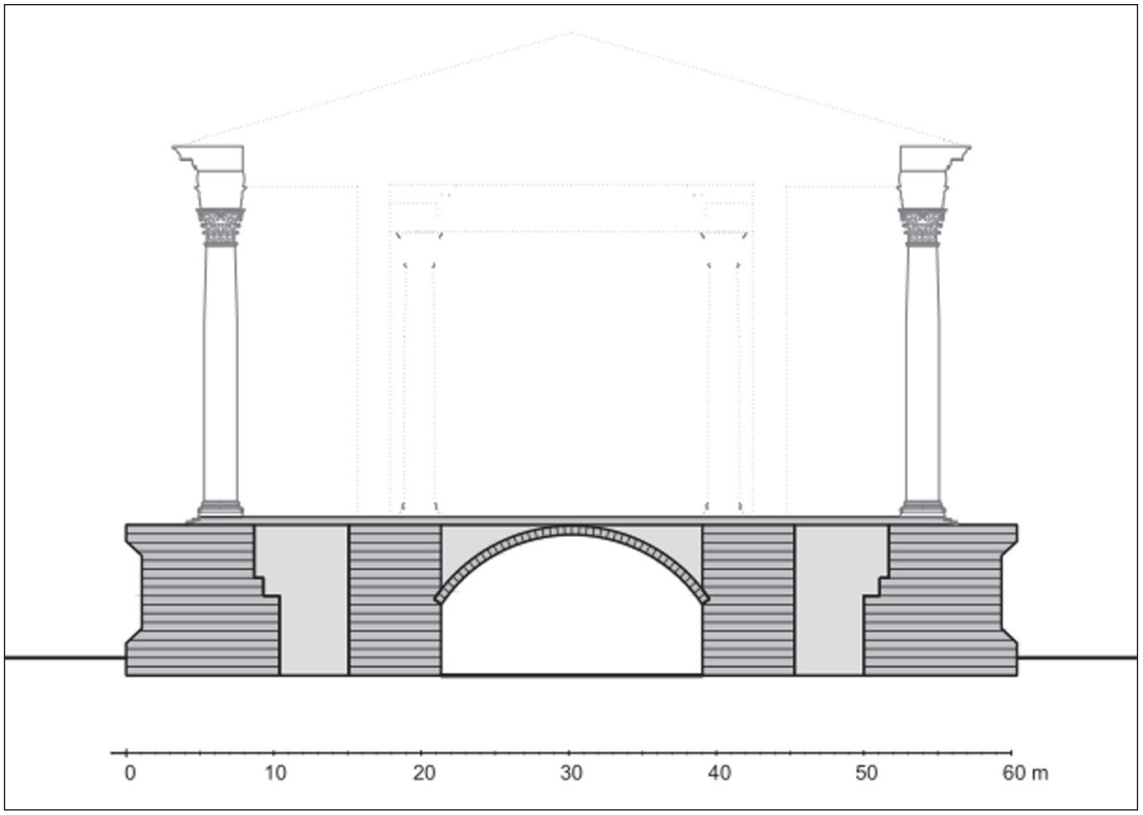


Abb. 6: Tarsos, Hadrianstempel (Donuk Taş), Schnitt.

Unterirdische Räume und Treppen auf das Dach[22] hatte auch der Hadrianstempel in Kyzikos. Aelius Aristides nennt diese drei Ebenen des Tempels unter, auf und über der Erde explizit in seinem Panegyrikos, den er 166 n. Chr. in Kyzikos vorgetragen hatte.[23]

Die Funktion der Roten Halle ist damit eine Darstellung des Kosmos, der rechten Ordnung der Welt, die Wohlstand bringt und auf der göttlichen Ebene von Zeus, auf der menschlichen von Hadrian garantiert wird. Im Zeitgeist der Zweiten Sophistik enthält die Architektur und Skulpturenaustattung des Tempels zahlreiche gelehrte Anspielungen und Zitate historischer Monumente, welche die Bildung des Publikums herausforderten. Besonders beliebt waren dabei Anspielungen auf die Sieben Weltwunder, wozu hier nicht nur der Zeus des Phidias zählt, sondern auch die gewaltige, übermenschliche Größe und die technische Leistung, die sich darüber hinaus in der Überbauung des Flusses Selinus mit einem Doppeltunnel manifestiert (Abb. 1).

Das Kultbild wird eine Goldelfenbeinstatue oder ein Akrolith gewesen sein, das vielleicht Zeus, vermutlich aber Hadrian darstellte, der sich in der Gesellschaft der olympischen Götter befand. Die Niken unterstützen den Kaiser dabei, die rechte Weltordnung aufrechtzuerhalten. Die ägyptisierenden Stützfiguren der Nebenhöfe waren dabei von untergeordneter Bedeutung und wurden in das universale Pantheon Hadrians mit einbezogen.

Der Grund für die Planänderung – d. h. der Aufgabe der unterirdischen Gänge und der Einbau der Wasserinstallationen – könnte, wie Lembke vermutet, mit dem Tod des Antinoos in Ägypten 130 n. Chr. in Zusammenhang stehen. Der Kaiserkult könnte danach um einen Nebenkult für Antinoos ergänzt worden sein, was mit einer ägyptisierenden Umgestaltung der Nebenhöfe des bis dato unvollendeten Gebäudes einherging.

Das kolossale Gebäude war nicht nur ein statisches Monument, sondern erhielt Dynamik und Leben durch den Prozess seiner Errichtung und das Abhalten von Festen, Spielen und Festreden bei der *inauguratio* des Tempels. Auch mit der Gründung penteterischer Spiele ist zu rechnen, wie es für viele Kaiserkultheiligtümer Hadrians überliefert ist. Dem Abhalten dieser Spiele und Feste dürfte der riesige Hof vor der Roten Halle gedient haben.

Dies wirft die Frage auf, wer dieses gigantische Heiligtum finanzierte. Kaiserkultheiligtümer wurden von der Stadt oder, im Falle einer Neokorie, von der Provinz für den Kaiser errichtet. Die gewaltige Größe der Roten Halle lässt aber daran zweifeln, ob die Stadt Pergamon sich dies alleine leisten konnte. Vor allem aber ist die Gestaltung mit dem Kaiser Hadrian zu verbinden: die stadtrömische Bautechnik, das Skulpturenprogramm, die Architektur mit Zitaten berühmter Tempel der klassischen bis frühhellenistischen Zeit, auch die Verwendung von Marmor und Stein aus allen Teilen des römischen Reichs. Dies gilt noch mehr für die ägyptisierenden Seitenhöfe, die man auf den heroisierten Antinoos beziehen kann, die aber auch, wie der Canopus der Villa Hadriana in Tivoli, als Teil der römisch beherrschten Oikumene verstanden werden können. Das gleiche Ergebnis zeigt die Untersuchung Jens Rohmanns der Bauornamentik, die teilweise von einer kaiserlichen Bauhütte gefertigt ist.[24] Die Rote Halle wurde damit

vom Kaiser Hadrian geplant, nicht von der Stadt Pergamon oder der Provinz Asia. Das macht es auch wahrscheinlich, dass der Kaiser für die Errichtung seines eigenen Tempels zahlte und damit sicherstellte, dass er einen Kult genau in der Größe und Gestaltung erhielt, wie er ihn haben wollte.

Anmerkungen

[1] Zur Forschungsgeschichte s. Hoffmann 2005.

[2] Mania 2011; s. dazu auch Held 2012.

[3] Mania 2011, 96–111.

[4] Lembke 2005; Rieger 2005.

[5] Brückener 2005; Mania 2005; Mania 2011, 63–95.

[6] Wulf-Rheidt 2009. Während man in Rom in der Regel mit ziegelverschaltem Gussmauerwerk (opus latericium) baute, ist die Rote Halle massiv aus Ziegeln errichtet.

[7] Mania 2011, 80–83.

[8] Brückener 2005, 42–44; Mania 2011, 68–71.

[9] Radt 1999, 204.

[10] Belegt sind Einsatzköpfe kolossaler Statuen, die eine Öffnung von unten bis zum geöffneten Mund aufweisen und damit vermutlich für Orakel dieser Art genutzt worden sind, s. Landwehr 2006, 90–92.

[11] Grüßinger 2003.

[12] Clerc – Leclant 1994.

[13] Rohmann 1998, 96–97. 135 Kat. E1–E6 Taf. 52–53; Mania 2011, 166 Kat. 180 Taf. 29,8. Zu einer Nike könnte auch das Flügelfragment ebenda 170 Kat. 243 gehören. Vgl. auch Rieger 2005, 88 f.

[14] Krencker – Schede 1936, 36 f. Taf. 30e; 31a. b. d; 47c.

[15] Krencker – Zschietzschmann 1938, 285–293.

[16] Paus. 5,10,10.

[17] Paus. 5,11,11; Wölfel 1990.

[18] Dörpfeld 1935, 232–247 Abb. 63.

[19] Paus. 1,18,6; Cass. Dio 69,16,1; Maass 1972, 131–135.

[20] Held 2008; Held et al. 2014; Burwitz 2015.

[21] Held 2005, 126 Abb. 3.

[22] Schulz 1995, 119. 123. Die Dachtreppen haben ihren Ursprung in der seleukidischen Sakralarchitektur (Held 2005), erhielten aber in den hadrianischen Tempeln eine neue Bedeutung.

[23] Aelius Aristides, or. 27 K. Eine ausführliche Studie zum Hadrianstempel von Kyzikos von Henning Burwitz und dem Verfasser ist in Vorbereitung.

[24] Rohmann 1998, 94–102; Mania 2011, 114–127.

Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: Radt 1999, 202 Abb. 144. – Abb. 2: Ulrich Mania unter Verwendung des Steinplans von Oskar Ziegenaus (Pergamonarchiv im DAI Berlin); Färbung Ralf Seidl. – Abb. 3a: E. Curtius – F. Adler, Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung. Erster Tafelband (Berlin 1892) Taf. XI, unten. – Abb. 3b: O. Deubner, Pergamena, IstMitt 34, 1984, 354 Abb. 3, ergänzt mit dem Kultbild von Abb. 3a. – Abb. 4a: G. Gruben – M. Hirmer – H. Berve, Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer (München 1961) 124 Abb. 14; blaue Färbung: Verf. – Abb. 4b: Radt 1999, 202 Abb. 144 (Ausschnitt); blaue Färbung: Verf. – Abb. 5. 6: Henning Burwitz.

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Cults, Money, and Prestige: Cultic Offices as a Means of Prestige for Leading Families in Asia Minor

Aynur-Michèle-Sara Karatas

Abstract

Inscriptions dating to the Archaic and Classical periods avoided mentioning the individuals as holders of cultic and public offices. Unlike the epigraphic sources from earlier periods, inscriptions from the Hellenistic and following periods indicated the cultic offices and the role of priests as benefactors of the cults. The elites as holders of cultic offices used the erection of honorific statues and inscriptions as one of the means of raising their family's prestige. This paper aims to trace the changing role and importance of statues and inscriptions dedicated by cultic officials in relation to their prestige in Asia Minor.

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (641–647) mentions the different cultic tasks of a girl had in the early stage of her life.[1] She performed various cultic services for the cult of Athena and Artemis. The performance of these cultic services was reserved for a small number of people who were members of leading families of the city. The prestige associated with cult and rituals itself was high, considering the epigraphic sources. The so-called hiereus and honorary inscriptions engraved on the costly statue bases testify to the cultic offices that the members of the elite held.[2]

Inscriptions dating to the Archaic and early Classical periods were short and limited to the name of the dedicator, patronymic, and to the name of the deity (Table 1).[3] Sometimes, the reason for the dedication was also indicated. The inscriptions are generally silent concerning the cultic office of the dedicators. It began to change during the late Classical period. The period after the death of Alexander the Great form a new chapter in the history of ancient Greece and brought changes in the self-presentation of cultic officials, which also found its expression in inscriptions and honorific statues (Table 1). Inscriptions dating to the Hellenistic and following periods emphasize the cultic and political offices of the dedicators, those of their family members, and their benefactions. The poleis also honoured women and men for their services as priests and civic benefactors. Even if women did not have equal standing with men, many inscriptions also honored priestesses. The inscriptions testify that women were honored in the same way as men. The inscriptions engraved on statue bases or stelai were set up at sanctuaries, stoai, bouleuteria, agorai, street, and other public places. Depending on the city, several dozen or more than hundred honorific statues were set up in public places and sanctuaries of the city. Many statues are not preserved, as bronze statues were melted down and re-used and marble statues were destroyed or damaged in Late Antiquity.

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period	man/woman
Archaic and Classical period	• the name of the honorand • patronymic • deity • the reason for the dedication
late Classical and early Hellenistic period	• the name of the honorand • patronymic • priestly status • deity • the reason for the dedication
From the 3rd century BCE onwards	• the name of the honorand • patronymic • priestly status • deity • previous cultic and political offices • honours received from the *polis* • cultic and political offices of the family members • benefaction • the reason for the dedication

Table 1: The contents of inscriptions dedicated in honour of cultic officials

The changes in self-representation of cultic officials can be also observed in art. During the Archaic period, goddesses were sometimes represented with more sophisticated hairstyles, headgear, and clothes than mortal women. The difference began to vanish during the Classical and following periods. The representation of priests with a priestly attribute is seldom. Especially statues represent male and female priests without any insignia of priestly status. Without inscriptions, it is difficult to determine whether the statues represent worshippers or priestesses. The garments and the drapery of the priests do not have features, which distinguish them from those of the worshippers or deities. The honorific statues of cultic officials had life-size or over-life-size. Women are dressed in chiton or peplos and himation; men are dressed in chiton and himation. Fourteen grave stelai from Smyrna dating to the Hellenistic period and dedicated by the demos to priestesses are an exception in this respect.[4] The grave stelai depict the deceased with one torch on each side. The torch used as an attribute of a goddess – Artemis, Hecate, or Demeter – identify the deceased as a priestess. The inscriptions engraved on these grave stelai do not mention the cultic office of the deceased.

Each city had over the centuries a significant number of cultic officials. However, only one part of the priests was honored with an honorific statue or grave stele. The

inscriptions engraved on the votive portrait statues of cultic officials became longer during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Imperial periods. Not only the inscriptions were longer in later periods, but also the number of honorific statues was increased during the Hellenistic and later periods. The inscriptions dedicated from the 3rd century BC onwards emphasizes more and more the cultic offices of the honorand, those of his family members, and his benefactions.[5] The benefaction was regulated by 'do ut des'. In return, the *demos* honoured the priest for his 'benefaction' with public honors: the dedication of an honorific statue set up in a public place and an inscription that revealed the piety, benefactions, and the noble background of the priest.

Fig. 1 shows three statues of women dating to the Hellenistic period, which were found at the sanctuaries of Demeter in Priene and Cnidus. The three women are dressed in chiton and himation. The first statue, found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Priene, depicts Hegeso (3rd century BC), who was a priestess of Demeter (Fig. 1a).[6] *IK Priene* 192 (= *I.Priene* 173) engraved on the statue base of Hegeso mentions the name of her father, husband, and her priesthood of Demeter and Kore. The over-life-size marble statue, the drapery, and the fabric of the garment of Hegeso mark her social status. Even if I.Priene 173 is short and does not emphasize the wealth, benefaction, cultic, and political offices of the family members of Hegeso, it marks the beginning of the end of the modesty: to not emphasize the own social, cultic status, and wealth in inscriptions. We do not know

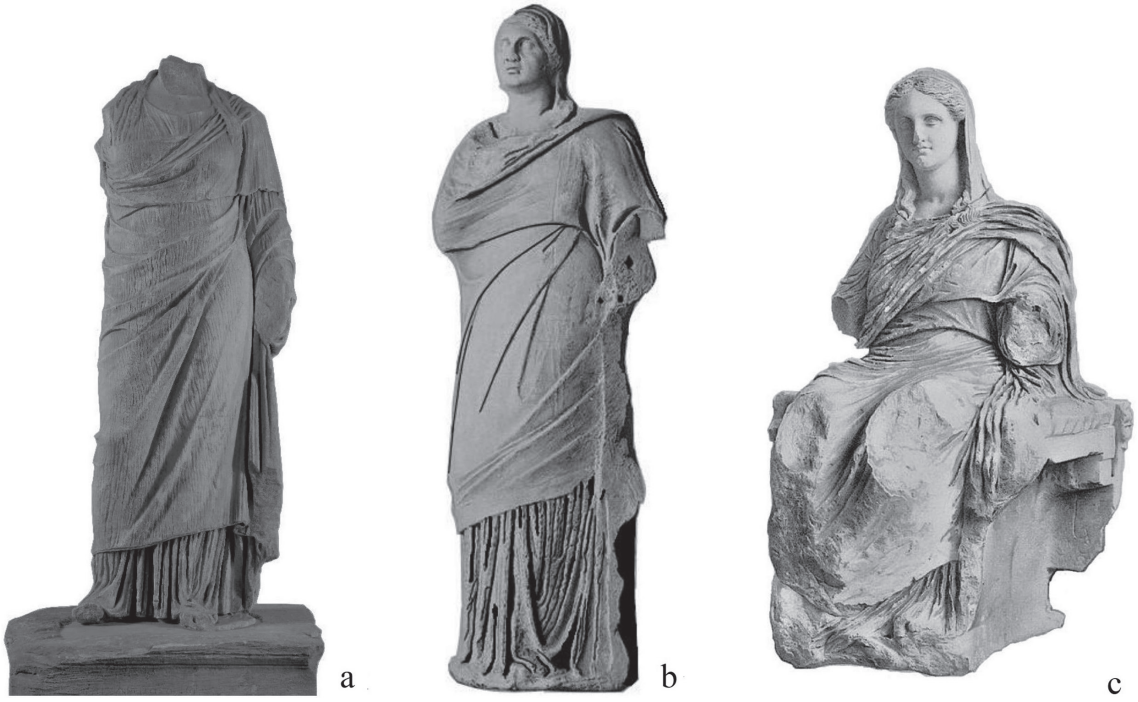

Fig. 1: a. Statue of Hegeso from Priene; b. Statue of a woman from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus; c. Statue of Demeter from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus.

whether Hegeso's family or the polis initiated the expensive statue. The authorization of the polis was required for the erection of the statue in a public place.[7] Mylonopoulos points out that it was extremely rare for a priestess to dedicate her portrait statue.[8] Presumably, Hegeso's family financed the statue and it was set up with the permission of the demos at the sanctuary of Demeter in Priene. In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, Pergamon set up statues of cultic officials in public places and sanctuaries.[9] The inscriptions engraved on the statue bases indicate that the demos was the initiator (ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν – the demos honored). However, this formulation does not necessarily mean that the demos also financed the honorific statues. Pilz states that the statues of priestesses were presumably not set up before the 2nd century BC by the demos.[10] If we consider the lifespan of the sanctuary of Demeter at Priene, we must realize that the number of votive portrait statues set up at this site is significantly low. The sanctuary of Demeter at Priene has existed at least for 500 years. Therefore, only two votive portrait statues are attested for this shrine (*I.Priene 172* and *IK Priene* 192). The statues of the family members of the two priestesses of Demeter – Timonassa and Hegeso – are not attested for Priene. The inscriptions from the Roman and Imperial periods illustrate that the families of the honored cultic officials owned significant material resources and were also able to afford to dedicate several statues of their family members. Apparently, the honours were assigned to few cultic and civic officials during the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods.

Ἡγησὼ Ἱπποσθένους,	**Hegeso,** the daughter of Hipposthenes,
Εὐκρίτου δὲ γυνή,	the wife of Eukritos,
ἱερῆ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης.	**priestess** of Demeter and Kore
	IK Priene 192

The second statue (2nd century BC), found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Cnidus, does not bear an inscription (Fig. 1b). It can represent a priestess or a worshipper. The third statue depicts Demeter (350 BC), which was also found at the same sanctuary (Fig. 1c). Demeter is represented sitting on a throne that identifies her as a goddess. However, Demeter was often depicted standing and without attributes. Some deities were represented with particular attributes and iconography, which served to indicate the identity of the deity. From the Classical period onwards, several deities, especially goddesses, were represented in the same way as mortal women. The iconography of Hegeso is similar to that of Demeter, whom she served. The question arises whether the elite intended to vanish the iconographic differences between deities and themselves. Especially the representation of women and goddesses is similar to each other. The statues and reliefs of male deities differ from those of mortal men. Male deities were usually depicted in himation and with their upper body naked, whereas mortal men were usually depicted in chiton and himation. It is easier to distinguish male deities from mortal men than goddesses from mortal women.

A statue of Simo was dedicated around the same period as that of Hegeso. In contrast to the inscription of Hegeso, Simo does not only mention the name of her father, husband, her priestly status, and the deity, but also her virtue, wealth, and her family (I. Erythrai 210a).[11] The inscription commemorating Simo is one of the rare inscriptions dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC that testifies that a woman set up her own statue. Dillon states that the setting up votive portrait statues of women is first attested for Athens in the 4th century BC.[12] The statue of Simo was presumably one of the first statues of a priestess set up in Asia Minor. The portrait statue of Simo and the inscription demonstrated the social prestige of her families within local framework.

[Σ]ιμὼ τήν[δ' ἔστη]σ[α] γυνὴ Ζωίλου **Διο̣νύσωι**
[ἰ⟨ε⟩]ρέα πρὸ πόλεως Παγκρατίδεω θυγάτηρ,
[**εἰ**]**κ[ό]να** μὲ[μ] μορφῆς, ἀρετῆς δ' ἐπίδειγμα καὶ ὄλβου,
[ἀθ]άνατον μνήμην παισί τε καὶ προγόνοις.
I.Erythrai 210a

Simo, wife of Zoilos,
priestess of the city, daughter of Pankratides,
set up this **image**[13] of beauty and example of virtue and wealth
for **Dionysus, as an eternal memory for my children and ancestors.**
I.Ertytrai 210a; translation by Dillon 2010: 9.

The Roman period marks the beginning of a new era. The Roman and Imperial periods are marked by the increased number of statues set up in honor of cultic and political officials in public places and sanctuaries. Under the Roman rules, the modest formulations in Greek inscriptions were replaced by formulations, which emphasized the cultic and political engagement of the honorand, his/her piety, and benefactions. I.Erythrai 105 dating to the Imperial period is a good example. The gerousia initiated the erection of the statue of Pherekleides, who had political offices and supervised banquets and the festival Demetria, which was presumably celebrated in honor of Demeter.[14] Pherekleides does not indicate the amount of money he donated for various cultic activities, but he uses the expression such as 'from his own resources' and 'in a generous manner'. Most of the inscriptions dedicated around the same period as I.Erythrai 105 use similar expressions and terms to indicate the benefaction of the honorands.

ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων	the **gerousia honoured, from its own**
προσόδων Φερ.κλ.ιδεα τὸν υἱὸν	**resources,** Pherekleides, **from his own resources,**
τῆς **γερουσίας, ἀγορανομήσαντα** κα[ὶ]	as an **agoramon** of the **gerousia** and

	[ε]ὐποσιαρχήσ[αν]τα καὶ **πανη-**	a leader of the **euposiarch** and **pane-**
	γυρι-	**gyri-**
5	**αρχήσαντα** τῶν Δημητρίων **ἐνδό-**	**arch** of the Demetria **in a glorious**
	[ξ]ως καὶ **μεγαλοψύ**[χ]ως, ἀρετῆς ἕνε-	and **generous manner,** on account
	κα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτήν	of excellence and goodwill shown towards
	ἐπιμεληθέντων τῶν ἀρχόντων	the supervision of archons
	.. Φιλωνίδου Ἀρτεμᾶ καὶ Μενάν-	.. Philonidos Artema and Menan-
10	δρου.	dros.

I.Erythrai 105

The cult of Zeus Panamaros at Panamara and that of Hecate at Lagina were the major cults of Stratonikeia. We learn from the inscriptions dedicated in honor of cultic officials of Zeus and Hecate that they were from wealthy families who held cultic offices for generations.[15] I.Stratonikeia 667 (Imperial period) was dedicated in honour of Thrason Leon, who was a priest of Zeus.[16] At ages between 10 and 20, he held different cultic offices of Zeus. His wife was a priestess, his daughter a kleidophoros (key-bearer of Hecate), and his brother was a priest. Thrason Leon also emphasizes the high sum he donated to the city. Only a small part of the inscriptions dedicated in honour of priests mention the amount of money donated for cultic and civic activities. Von den Hoff points out that the honorific statues and inscriptions stressed the importance of cultic activities in the polis and that the honored priests acted on behalf of the cult, city, and piety.[17] In fact, the family of Thrason Leon competed, like other wealthy families, for public prestige with benefaction. Apparently, it was also crucial to hold cultic offices. As the cultic office of Zeus and Hecate were the most prestigious offices in the territory of Stratonikeia, Thrason Leon and his family members held the priesthoods of both cults. As priests were an essential component of each city, it was crucial for leading families to hold a high estimated cultic office. Benefaction allowed Thrason Leon and his family to enhance their public prestige and to ask for one of the highest public honours: the erection of his statue.

ἱερεὺς
ἐξ ἐπανγελίας **Θράσων** Ἱεροκλέους **Λέων** Ἰε(ροκωμήτης) ἐτῶν [.΄]
μετὰ ἀρχιερωσύνην ἣν ἐτέλεσεν ὢν ἐτῶν δέκ[α]
κὲ **γυμνασιαρχίαν** ἣν ἐτέλεσεν ὢν ἐτῶν δέκα
5 ἑνὸς καὶ **ἱερωσύνην** τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ **Διὸς**
Παναμάρου ἣν ἐτέλεσεν ὢν ἐτῶν δέκα ἓξ καὶ **ἱε-**
ρωσύνην τοῦ προπάτορος **Διὸς Χρυσαορείου** ἣν ἐ-
τέλεσεν ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ **σειτωνίαν** ὧν αὐτοὶ ὑ-
πέσχοντο (δηναρίων) μ(υρίων) ἀναποδότων τῇ **πόλει**·

ἱέρεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ **Ἀπφιὰς Ἀρτεμιδώρου** Κ[(ωρα)ζ(ίς),]
[κλειδοφορ]ο̣ύσης τῆς **θυγατρὸς** αὐτῶν **Ἀμμ[ί]-**
[ας τῆς Θράσων]ος Ἀπφίας [Ἰε(ροκωμήτιδος),] συνφιλοτειμου[μένου]
[αὐτῷ τοῦ **ἀδελφοῦ Λέοντος** τοῦ Ἱεροκλέους **Θράσωνος.**]
I.Stratonikeia 667

The **priest** was,
in accordance with his commitment, **Thrason Leon,** son of Hierokles, of the demon of Hierokome,
aged [---], after a high **priesthood,** which he had at the **age of 10,**
gymnasiarch at the **age of 11,**
a **priesthood** of the great god **Zeus**
Panamaros performed at the **age of 16,**
a **priesthood** of **Zeus Chrysaorian Propator**
carried out at the **age of 20,** a **sitonie,**
for which he gave **10,000 denarii** as non-refundable funds **to the city;**
the **priestess** was **his wife Apphia, daughter of Artemidoros,** of the deme of Koraza;
their **daughter Ammia Apphia,**
[daughter of Thrason, of the deme of Hierokomè], was a **clidophore;** the
[**brother of the priest, Leon Thrason** son of Hierocles], **contributed to the generosity of their priesthood**

Conclusion

Votive portrait statues were dedicated in honour of priests of major polis cults. Some statues were also dedicated to priests of minor cults; however, this was more an exception. The dedication of a statue was a highly costly matter. Diogenes Laertius (6.2.35) says that the price for a life-size bronze statue was 3,000 drachmas, while a quart barley flour was sold for two copper coins.[18] Only some inscriptions say explicitly that the demos paid for the honorific statues of priests. It seems likely that the most honorific statues were financed by the priests and their families.

Inscriptions from the Archaic and Classical periods avoided naming the cultic offices and the benefaction of the honoured priests. Benefaction was also practiced during the Archaic and Classical periods but was seldom mentioned in inscriptions dedicated by priests. It is presumably linked to the idea of modesty that prevented from the public display of personal wealth, benefactions, prestige, and offices. The political changes during the Hellenistic period and especially under the Roman rulers also changed the self-representation of wealthy families who acted as priests of major civic cults and donated a large sum of money for the funding of festivals, public buildings, and sanctuaries.

The aim of the benefaction was not one-sided. The funding of the cult allowed cultic officials to promote their public prestige. The combination of cultic and public offices with benefaction was essential for a career and self-representation in ancient Greece. The ambitions were awarded with honorific statues set up in public places.

Notes

[1] For Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 641–647, see Sourvinou 1971, 339–342; Grebe 1999, 194–203.

[2] The so-called *hiereus* inscriptions were dedicated by the priests. The honorary inscriptions were initiated by the *demos*.

[3] For a detailed analysis of dedicatory inscriptions, see Day 2010, 181 f.

[4] Pfuhl, Möbius 1979, nos. 405–410, 529–531, 855, 872; Grossman 2001, 118; *ThesCRA* III 2006, nos. 77. 78; Klöckner 2013, 303 f.; Schipporeit 2013, 196.

[5] For benefaction in ancient Greece, see Gauthier 1985; Dignas 2006; Gygax 2016.

[6] For Hegeso, see Connelly 2007, 137 f.; Dillon 2010, 125 f.; Schipporeit 2013, 167 f.

[7] McLean 2002, 242; Mylonopoulos 2013, 122 f.

[8] Mylonopoulos 2013, 128 f.

[9] Mathys 2012, 278–281.

[10] Pilz 2013, 155.

[11] For Simo, see also Dillon 2010, 9; Pilz 2013, 163 f.

[12] Dillon 2010, 57.

[13] The term εἰκών (eikōn) means 'image' and refers to the statue.

[14] For *I.Erythrai* 105, see also Schipporeit 2013, 61.

[15] Laumonier 1937 and 1938.

[16] Laumonier 1938, 268 f.

[17] von den Hoff 2008, 114.

[18] For further epigraphic sources on the cost of statues, see Ma 2013, 264.

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City and religion as subjects of archaeological research in the Mediterranean are often limited to sacred buildings within the spatial and social fabric of the city. However, specific urban factors such as the concentration of economic potential, control of financial resources, but also heterogeneous populations, marginalization, and power imbalances impact religious practices and their reflections in material culture.

The contributions in this volume discuss how economic characteristics of urbanity are reflected in institutional, medial, and performative expressions of religion(s) in cities of Italy and Asia Minor. These interactions are not only of interest for Graeco-Roman antiquity, but are relevant in our modern world of globalized markets: With the concentration of economic power the potential for tensions and religious conflicts increases as rapidly as cities grow.

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